

# FORUM

## Labor's Wounds Are Healing

*Duff Munro*

## The Saskatoon By-Election

*Helen Orpwood*

## Parties And Profits

*Gordon O. Rothney*

## Does It Sell The Stuff

*Philip Spencer*

## Co-operatives In Canada-II

*Janet Coerr*

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## OUR CONTRIBUTORS

JANET COERR was born in California twenty-four years ago but spent most of her childhood in Mexico. She attended a progressive school in St. Louis, Mo., and Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania. At the end of her sophomore year an interest in industrial design and window display took her to New York City, where she studied in the Design Laboratory, a government project since cancelled. Since then she has lived in New Haven, New York and Montreal, joining coöperatives in each city. In New York Mrs. Coerr attended the Rochdale Institute, a training school for coöperative business and educational leaders and employees.

DUFF MUNRO is the nom-de-plume of an experienced labor man, who was a delegate to the convention which produced the Canadian Congress of Labor.

PETER VIERECK was founding editor of the Harvard Guardian. Knopf is publishing shortly his Wagner And Hitler, a study of the origin of Nazi thought.

MAXWELL COHEN is a young barrister from Winnipeg, now engaged in war-time work in Ottawa.

## THE CANADIAN FORUM

ELEANOR GODFREY - MANAGING EDITOR  
L. A. MORRIS - BUSINESS MANAGER

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THE CANADIAN FORUM-

# THE CANADIAN FORUM

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## *The Second Year Begins*

WITH THE EQUINOX PAST it looks as if Hitler's threatened invasion of Britain will be postponed till next year. If so, he lost his best chance for victory when he failed to invade this last summer. The terrific bombing to which London has been subjected does not seem to have seriously affected the British productive capacity and it has failed to break the morale of the people. To their splendid spirit no verbal tribute can do justice. Though it is too early to be sure of this, many signs point to a transfer of the main winter theatre of operations to the Mediterranean and North Africa. Mussolini has at last started his offensive against Egypt. Italian operations, however, with the British command of the sea unshaken, cannot be very dangerous unless they are strengthened by German air power. Everyone who has read Mr. Churchill on the last war knows how important he thought it to be then to strike at the enemy through the eastern Mediterranean and so attack him on a flank where he was vulnerable. In this war, with Germany in control of western Europe, the eastern Mediterranean becomes even more important for British strategy if Britain is to resume the offensive. So we may look for important events there. In the far east Japan has been strangely slow in striking while France is prostrate and Britain occupied in Europe, a fact which suggests that the Japanese are in a weaker position than they seem to be. Their great stroke for total victory may also, like the German one, come too late.

## *The U.S. Election*

GOOD POLITICAL OBSERVERS and the public opinion polls all seem to agree that the Willkie campaign has gone sour. The Republican candidate has alienated or annoyed too many of his party stalwarts, he has made too many bad breaks in his speeches, his opponents are succeeding most impressively in the not very difficult task

of showing him up as the candidate of big business. Ironically enough, the president, who has won all his past campaigns because he has been so much abler and more attractive as a public speaker than any of his opponents, is winning this one by keeping quiet and showing himself in public only as the executive who is concentrated on defense problems. Some American commentators are now talking of another Roosevelt landslide. If the president gets a third term it will be in spite of the newspapers. After the 1936 election the *New Republic* found that in the fifteen biggest cities of the country Landon was supported by daily papers having 71% of the circulation, but Roosevelt was supported by 69% of the voters. This year *Editor and Publisher* reports that out of 1,000 dailies over the country 66.3% are for Willkie as against 60% for Landon in 1936; while only 20.1% are for Roosevelt as against 35% in 1936. But 62.8% of the Labor papers of the country are for Roosevelt; and this in spite of the fact that they were opposed to the conscription law by more than two to one. Draw your own conclusions.

## *What Is At Stake In The U.S.*

SINCE MR. WILLKIE has expressed a general approval of both the Roosevelt foreign policy and the internal reforms of the New Deal, some critics have argued that there is no real issue between the two presidential candidates. But in domestic, economic and social policies the liberalism of the head of a public utilities holding company certainly has to be proved by something more than words. The New Deal may be destroyed by sabotage or neglect as effectively as by direct attack, especially those features of it which embody protection of the rights of labor and regulation of the activities of Wall St. In these fields Mr. Willkie's record seems to have provided his critics with plenty of points to attack. In foreign policy the real question is whether American defense preparations are to be carried out according to the ideas of big business men who cherish profits and resent

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government control, or whether policy is to be made under the guidance of public officials whose ideas about profits and the conscription of industry as well as men will certainly not be popular in the circles among which Mr. Willkie is accustomed to move. Some critics see in the Willkie movement the sinister potentialities of a semi-fascist regime, and much of the wild talk of Republican business men in private gives color to these fears. In fact it is being publicly charged by the Democrats in the election campaign that the forces supporting the Republican candidate would be the first to appease Hitler by making a business deal with a Nazi-dominated Europe if they got the chance by winning office this November.

We doubt if Mr. Willkie is either the great liberal or the sinister fascist which defenders or opponents would make him out to be. But we rather hope that the people of the United States don't have to find out after Nov. 5. The real argument for the re-election of President Roosevelt is that through the recent critical years he has been pre-eminent among the statesmen of the world as an exponent both in words and action of the democratic faith.

### *The U.S. And World Politics*

THAT THE WAR FEVER is rising in the United States is obvious to everyone now. In Canada we do not hear as much as we should, if we are to form a sound judgment on American opinion, of the groups which opposed the conscription measure and which are opposing many of the steps to help Britain on the ground that these measures "short of war" represent a gradual slipping into a position in which war will become inevitable. At present we should say that the sentiment is overwhelmingly in favor of giving all possible help to the British cause short of war—in fact majority opinion seems now ready to risk getting into the war. For it is being admitted more and more that the measures of help to Britain do involve the danger of real war with Hitlerian Germany.

The deal by which the United States got a long lease of naval bases in the Atlantic and Caribbean areas at the remarkably low expense of fifty obsolescent destroyers certainly implies further steps. Rumors in Washington had it that it was proposed that the bases should count as an offset to the British war debt but that no American government in an election year could afford to raise the contentious war-debt question. If the American government makes a defense agreement with Australia similar to that with Canada, and if it takes responsibility for the Singapore base, the United States will have become the centre of a

Pacific defense system which is much more likely to involve her in war in the far east than anything that she has done so far on the Atlantic front is likely to mean European commitments. The American tradition of foreign policy has in it no element of aloofness from the far east similar to the historic reluctance to become entangled in European affairs. American policy in recent years has been much more definitely anti-Japanese than British policy. And the American fleet is still in the Pacific. We cannot tell what all these factors in a very fluid situation may lead to after the next president is safely installed in Washington. All that can be safely predicted at the moment is an increasing concentration by both the American government and people upon military matters.

### *Inflation Approaches*

THE SECOND CANADIAN WAR LOAN reached its objective only after such a strenuous bombardment of the small investor that the authorities in charge of the financial side of our war effort must be doing some hard thinking just now. Of course, the reason why the ordinary middle-class citizen held back was that he is worrying about the taxes he will have to pay during the coming year and about the rise in prices concerning which his wife's reports are much more alarming than the statistics of the price control board are reassuring. Speakers in Toronto who toured the theatres on behalf of the war loan were telling their hearers that they could get a \$500 bond for \$100 cash with the rest borrowed from the bank. If the government encourages credit expansion along these lines we are started down the inflationary path.

To pay for our war effort the government must extract from us by means of taxes and loans an ever higher proportion of the national income, and in the long war which stretches before us this can only be done by cutting down everyone's expenditures for normal consumption. So far in both Canada and Britain the governments are trying to do this by appeals to voluntary savings over and above what they compel the citizen to pay in taxes. In both countries the appeals are failing, and the temptation to inflation will become more and more pressing. According to the *Economist* in England, "even the protestations of a determination to avoid inflationary finance are getting weaker." It is so easy for a government which wants swelling revenues in the form of taxes and loans to inflate a little so as to make the money incomes of its citizens larger, and thus make the collection of income taxes and excess-profit taxes rather less painful, as well as making the raising of gigantic



loans much more impressive and spectacular. This is what we did in the last war. It eases the problems of the minister of finance, but it distributes the real burdens of the war in an extremely inequitable manner. The alternative is some such procedure as Mr. Keynes has advocated. If the British government should be courageous enough and intent enough upon equality of sacrifice to try it, perhaps our government would follow its example. But in financial strategy as in military strategy time is an essential factor. If we slip a certain distance into inflation it is too late to try any other strategy.

## Wheat

THE 1940 CANADIAN WHEAT CROP is almost as big as the record-breaker of 1928. It comes at a time when the country has already a large carry-over from previous years, when prices are low, and when prospects of the world market absorbing our surplus in any near future are worse than they have ever been. The situation has created acute difficulties in the physical storing of the wheat. It means an acute economic crisis for the western farmer because of his need for money and the impossibility of his getting enough as long as he has to store a large part of his crop on his own farm. For some unexplained reason the government has been extremely slow in finding any way in which it can guarantee advances to the farmer against the security of the wheat which he keeps in storage himself. This long delay, on top of the low 70 cent price, is clearly a political mistake of major proportions and is leading to a new prairie uprising at the head of which Premier Bracken of Manitoba could place himself whenever he should see fit. That the astute Jimmy Gardiner should not have headed this off by effective steps to help the farmer in distress is one of those things which someone who knows what has been going on behind the scenes in Ottawa will have to explain.

Back of this immediate political and economic problem is the much more intricate and difficult question of the ultimate future of the wheat-growing provinces of Canada. At the moment wheat represents our most uneconomic industry. One solution is to let the matter be adjusted by the gradual disappearance under cruel economic pressure of the surplus wheat growers; this is too harsh to be thought of. But the country cannot indefinitely subsidize economic activities. The opposite solution is crop control and the transfer by government agency of surplus population to other activities. This also will not be attempted. So we shall drift along under a continuous strain in the hope that world conditions will sometime justify a

wheat-growing area that can produce more than five hundred million bushels in a year. Maybe we shall be saved this time by crop failures in other countries just as the long drought on our Canadian prairie solved for our competitors the problem of the world surplus in the early 1930's.

## "Planning For War And Peace"

ON THE DAY which in normal circumstances would have been Bank Holiday, the London *Times* published a leader with the above title. The monthly Bulletin of the Labor Book Service rightly draws attention to it as having been in effect an acceptance of the social ideals for which the socialist movement and the Labor party have been striving for years. For here are some of the things which the *Times* said: "The present war was preceded by revolutions and takes its character from them . . . This war carries within it a clash of social orders and social purposes . . . The streams of social and international policy have mingled." The *Times* goes on to express approval of "the old motto 'To each according to his needs.'" Shall we next be told, remarks the L.B.S. Bulletin, that the color of the old school tie is red? "The application of approved standards of nutrition to the whole population," said the *Times*, "is the necessary and elementary starting-point of a long-term social program, whose goal must be the extension to all, as the first call on the resources of the whole community, of decent standards of housing, of clothing, and of other amenities of life . . . What will be needed most of all when peace is restored is planned consumption." On all this the L.B.S. Bulletin comments: "If we are to adopt 'the old motto,' if we are to base our economic system on the needs of the human being (and those needs are not wholly material or economic), then we shall find that we need a wholly new kind of machinery—a new plan of society, a new system of education, a new conception of work and leisure, a new conception of money and currency, a new vision of the purpose of life. Implicit in this admission of the *Times* is a revolution which will far outstrip anything yet achieved by the blind agony of Europe."



## Winning the War

**A** YEAR AGO, when the war was just starting and we all had time on our hands, it was a favorite occupation to draft schemes for the peace settlement which was to come at the end of the war. Most liberal democrats—and we are all liberal democrats now—seemed agreed that federation was to be the blessed word of the post-war world. They disputed whether the federation which would bring permanent peace was to be one of Europe, or of western Europe, or of the “democracies,” or of the world. Some energetic professors of political science, with a well trained eye for the market, rushed books on the topic to the press, only to have them appear just after the collapse of France. The crisis which began with the invasion of Belgium and Holland put all this pleasant Utopianism out of their minds. And today as we look out on the forces which are loose in the world and begin to realize that we are in the midst not merely of a military struggle but of a social and intellectual revolution, we wonder at the naivete of those strange beings of 1939, ourselves, who could believe that the invention of some new political machinery was all that was needed to save our civilization.

During the critical summer months no one felt much heart for considering these questions of the future of our society. France had fallen and Britain was fighting for her life. It was sufficient that she fought for survival. But now the magnificent recovery of the British people from the disastrous campaign on the continent makes it fairly certain that Hitler cannot reduce them to submission. By next year, largely through their own efforts, they will have achieved equality in air armaments with Germany, and gradually with the help of North America they will win superiority. And this will bring us back to the question which was dropped in the pressure of more urgent matters this spring, the question of peace principles.

The military problem of winning the war, as distinct from the problem of beating off German attacks, is serious enough in itself. Granted that the Nazi bid for gaining control of the British Isles fails—and the Germans cannot finally win the war without this control—what are the prospects of a British counter-invasion of the continent? We should beware of the tempting exhilaration which comes from the thought of the European masses rising against their Nazi masters to welcome a British invader. They are cut off from all the news that the English-speaking world gets now, and the British government has no effective contacts with them, or at least none that are publicly

known. We may be sure that German propaganda throughout this coming winter will have done its best to inflame European opinion against British planes which drop bombs on them and British ships whose blockade keeps food from them. Moreover, all those who are fighting Nazism need to bear in mind that it is not the enslavement of the European peoples which is most dangerous, bitter though that may be to its victims, but the possibility that German organizing ability may make a going concern out of Europe. By rationalizing production and distribution over a continental area they may promise security and stability to the masses if they will stay quiet and an open career for the talents to those of ambition if they will accept the Nazi system. Against this it will not be enough to promise merely a restoration of the old governments who are now in exile in Britain and who, when in office, except in the Scandinavian countries, were not able to solve their people's problems of unemployment and insecurity.

The answer to these doubts which gives one hope is the electrical change which has taken place in the temper of Britain since the new Churchill-Labor government took charge of things. As R. H. Tawney in his now famous letter to the *New York Times* has put it: “We are not fighting in obedience to the orders of our government; our government is fighting in obedience to our orders. We shall continue to fight until the job is done or we are . . . We are fighting to preserve a way of life which we value above life . . . We prefer dying on our feet to living on our knees.” The *New Statesman* (Aug. 24) has described the new regime in Britain as the first stage of a democratic revolution, and it goes on to declare that this revived democracy must continue to advance both on the home front and on the European front. At home, it says, “we must, next winter, have not another interim budget but a financial policy based upon an economic plan; we must proceed to the nationalisation at least of Transport and Coal and to a new democratic educational policy which brings the Public Schools within the national system of education.” In Europe it wants the ground prepared to launch a great propaganda offensive for a democratic revolution which will win the support not of the exiled governments but of the oppressed peoples. It criticises Mr. Churchill and Mr. Attlee for their insularity and lack of imagination in this field. And it concludes: “any future peace will demand as intimate links between Britain and Europe as those now being forged between Canada and the U.S.A.” (Toronto papers please copy.)

What are the chances of a dynamic democracy of this kind in Britain giving a lead to the peoples of Europe so effective that not merely the physical

control of Nazi soldiers and police but the moral and intellectual dominance of Nazi ideas may be destroyed? We cannot tell as yet. But at least we can assert that democracy will wither and decay in any atmosphere save that of free discussion, and that Britain is setting a magnificent example to the world not alone by the dogged endurance of her citizens but also by the freedom with which they discuss their public affairs.

In North America, or rather in the northern part of it, a paralysis has fallen upon the discussion of the ideas by which we live or profess to live. Our publicists repeat the accepted slogans in ever more strident tones, but one doesn't need to talk with very many of the younger generation before he discovers that there is a widespread scepticism as to the sincerity of these slogans. "When a term has become so universally sanctified as 'democracy' now is," says Mr. T. S. Eliot, "I begin to wonder whether it means anything, in meaning too many things; it has arrived perhaps at the position of a Merovingian Emperor, and wherever it is invoked one begins to look for the Mayor of the Palace."\* The weakness of our Canadian war effort so far is not the slowness in producing munitions or in training men, but the persistence with which our leaders avoid all genuine discussion of the "way of life which we value above life" and sidestep most policies which would make the values of that way of life more actual to the masses of the people upon whom the burdens of the war are bound to fall most heavily. Yet when it comes to the critical point where we have to decide whether the struggle against Nazism shall be carried through to the end, one may predict that it will not be the common people who will want to give up. Defeatist tendencies will show themselves first among those who are now shouting loudest, "among those classes for whom the social revolution of modern war means the destruction of privilege and comfort." (We are quoting again from the *New Statesman*.)

The fundamental weakness of our society in facing the challenge of Nazism is not military or economic. It is rather intellectual and spiritual. Dorothy Thompson says it is the decay of a middle-class civilization whose values are no longer tenable. Since she writes for the New York *Herald-Tribune* and the Toronto *Globe and Mail* and has spoken with great acceptance over the C. B. C. we feel that

\*Mr. Eliot says further (in his recent book, "The Idea of a Christian Society"): "You have only to examine the mass of newspaper leading articles, the mass of political exhortation, to appreciate the fact that good prose cannot be written by people without convictions." One would think he had been living in Canada instead of in England!

it may be proper to quote her (Sept. 20): "The whole middle-class world is in a state of neurosis. While it gives lip-service to the values of the last sixty years, it is not convinced by the sound of its own voice . . . The spiritual inertia translates itself into actual physical and mental inertia. . . This becomes particularly noticeable in youth, which behaves like a bystander in society instead of its junior partner and heir . . . It is precisely this middle-class world which, in possession of wealth and technical equipment, has not even been able efficiently to manufacture and distribute weapons for its own defense . . . Tell men in this society . . . that the economic and political reorganization of the world is sure to take place and that we shall either contribute to do this ourselves or take the leavings from the gangsters . . . and they will call you a communist or a fascist." As the military war against the Nazis proceeds we are going to find that it is this inner spiritual weakness which is the chief obstacle to our success. To it we should be directing much more of our attention.

## Gatineau Hills

The cloak of color flames along the hill.  
The subtle tones of harmony  
That blend to sound the balance notes  
Of Music's rapturous delight  
Fly here in studied loveliness  
To fill the heavy crags  
With overbrimming melodies  
Of sound.  
In flakes of scarlet and in waves of gold  
They sing.  
From height to valley, color strews  
A song, unblest by human art.  
In purple symphonies the tide rolls on  
Over the rocky ledges to the peak  
And then crescendoes to the deep of rust  
In wind-curled rhapsodies.  
With gusty crispness, dropping to the ground  
The finished notes descend to fade  
And be forgot.  
The pounding noise of flame  
Pitched high, rolls in the wind  
Like some Wagnerian theme  
And then it ebbs and soon  
Is done.  
Now there along the slope  
Stand bare gaunt sticks and leafless prongs  
Weary and spent with beauty's lustfulness.

J. DE BRUYN



# Couchiching

Maxwell Cohen

**C**OUCHICHING, in peacetime, has been a lively, stimulating forum where under the inspiration of the Canadian Institute on Economics and Politics some of the meaningful public issues of the day get a vigorous airing and a good time is had by all. But in a country at war a Couchiching conference is nothing less than an experiment in "liberal democracy" under pressure. For anyone who patiently sat through nine days of sessions devoted to the general theme, "The Empire, the United States and the War"—beside a lake that alternately warmed and refrigerated—must have sensed the curious "risk-taking" feeling that often pervaded the meetings. It was not so much that suspended above every speaker who dealt with problems of the war or of foreign policy was that ubiquitous weapon of repressive executive power, the Defense of Canada Regulations; rather it was a feeling that with bombs bursting on British soil, with the channel transformed into a moat and a path for invasion, and with a mighty life and death struggle almost at its peak, a struggle which would determine the fate of empire and commonwealth, to attempt to debate, with fine objectivity, the implications of a British victory or defeat, seemed at the very least something of a luxury and at the most, strangely unreal.

Not that Couchiching in 1940 had less value in itself, or less justification for carrying on. In a society that continues to operate with free and representative institutions, that kind of communal self-expression and exchange of ideas in the market of discussion is, on the one hand, vital to the maintenance of the essential character of such institutions, and, on the other, an example of the way in which the "liberal" concept underlying these political folkways can operate in a war-burdened partisan state. Nevertheless, there were moments in the course of the conference where the sense of unreality was so strong that a listener felt himself to be in a different world—without headlines, without friends and relatives in dangerous service, without disaster as part of a daily emotional diet. In a very real sense, therefore, it was a luxury to talk so casually and candidly about events that went to the heart of British and Canadian survival, to talk with a detachment that might have suggested that the discussion related to strangers, whose problems never could be our own.

As a conference, however, and as a place to mix the fermentation of ideas with fresh air, cool waters and good companions, Couchiching undoubt-

edly was a success. Attended by a select and thoroughly interested audience, whose numbers varied from 150 to 350 at each lecture, the meetings remained at a high level throughout, with enough heat, at moments when opinions touched the tender surfaces of prejudices, to prevent the atmosphere from becoming too coolly academic. Twenty-five addresses and three panel discussions, all followed by a considerable period of audience participation, filled out the nine-day program.

While the lectures and panels covered a great variety of subjects within the main theme of the conference, certain of the discussions and some of the personalities stand out in retrospect:

- (1) The three lectures given by Mrs. Vera Micheles Dean of the Foreign Policy Association of New York—The Outlook for Democracy in Europe, The Enigma of Russia, Italian Foreign Policy—and the hard-hitting didactic retorts of her chief heckler, Professor H. N. Fieldhouse of the University of Manitoba;
- (2) The description and the criticism of the Rowell-Sirois report by R. M. Fowler of Toronto, Leon-Mercier Gouin of Quebec, Georges Pelletier and Professor Frank Scott of Montreal;
- (3) The economics of Canada's war effort, outlined by Douglas Gibson of the Bank of Nova Scotia, and K. W. Taylor, secretary of the wartime prices and trade board, Ottawa;
- (4) Canada, the United States, and the western hemisphere as analyzed by half-a-dozen or more speakers of varying points of view;
- (5) Geneviève Tabouis, and her explanation of the Fall of France and the Real Strength of Germany.

Mrs. Dean's contribution opened the conference on a high note of information and objectivity. In a sense the material she presented provided the necessary background for the remaining sessions. For it was against the dynamics of European policies that Canada and the empire were finding themselves at war and the United States was being placed in that vague status of partisanship ironically described as non-belligerency. Three main conclusions were to be drawn from Mrs. Dean's analysis:

- (a) The English-speaking democracies will have completely misjudged the nature of the present conflict in Europe if they regard it merely as another step in the long struggle for the balance of power on the continent, a struggle in which the dictatorships do not have the spiritual support of the majority of their peoples. Europe was witness-

ing a gigantic revolution in which the totalitarian states were the representatives of a new concept of social organization—one which promised security for the masses in return for a complete acceptance of the all-powerful position of the state and unquestioning obedience to its dictates. This positive character of state action was the greatest threat to the return of the old liberal "democratic" concepts in Europe. Unless the democracies could meet the challenge of the dictatorships in a grand conception of positive state action leading to the physical and moral satisfaction of the masses, democracy might not be able to attract the support required for its European revival.

(b) Russian foreign policy was understandable if one remembered that Russia was supremely opportunist, taking advantage of every chance to keep Germany and Great Britain busy in the west and Japan occupied in the east, so that Russian imperial ambitions might be given some room for satisfaction, and Russian defences some chance for preparation against ultimate enemies such as Germany. Russian policy was made by Russia, with the mystical character of Russian thought permeating such policies and their execution.

(c) It would be wise for Anglo-Saxons to remember that Italians and other Europeans do not think and act either as Anglo-Saxons do or as Anglo-Saxons would like them to act, and that to understand Italy it is important to remember the seventy-five years of modern Italian history. Italy considers herself a have-not state and it would be rash to underestimate the momentum behind the self-assertion in Rome today.

To listen to Mrs. Dean was to become aware of the severe limitations of the amateur in the jigsaw field of international politics. For Mrs. Dean was something of the expert, the full-time professional student of these questions, across whose desk would pass copies of the documents, newspapers and other primary materials which alone could give the disciplined student a view of the total picture. She had developed a fingertip grasp of the details with which the earnest but casual observer of world events could not hope to compete. For many in the audience, therefore, what was to have been a seminar became a classroom.

Such expertise applies, of course, to every field. But somehow there is a wider interest on the part of the educated public in problems of international relations than in most other social studies. Indeed, more than one European traveller has remarked on the seemingly inexhaustible curiosity in Canada and in the United States about foreign affairs. The result is to prompt opinions on all phases of current international questions by people who otherwise are cautious in stating their views, even in the fields

where they have a real background. The down-to-earth, semi-ironic quality of Mrs. Dean's discussion, therefore, must have had a salutary educational effect on those who are much too ready to "sound off" whenever a problem crosses the open sea.

The Rowell-Sirois report brought the conference closer to home. According to R. M. Fowler, sometime legal secretary to the commission, the investigation and the report were an attempt to re-examine the basis of federalism in Canada, with special reference to the constitutional and fiscal relations between the dominion and provincial governments. The commission, with the aid of seventeen separate studies made by experts into many phases of Canadian history and economy, came to the unanimous conclusion that a reshaping of the Canadian federal structure was necessary for the better operation of the national and local machinery of government. More and wider authority was to be given to the dominion in the legislative sphere, while at the same time the provinces were to give up their control over certain types of taxation in exchange for a series of national adjustment grants to the provincial treasuries that would enable them to balance their budgets, pay their debts and carry on essential services. In Mr. Fowler's opinion, the report represented a real basis upon which the Canadian people could begin to reorganize their national life.

The report, as a governmental effort, was strongly criticized from the French-Canadian point of view by Georges Pelletier, editor, *Le Devoir*, Montreal, and Leon-Mercier Gouin, the well-known leader of the French-Canadian corporatist movement. M. Pelletier argued that this was not the proper time for Canadians to deal with so delicate and vital a national matter. It would require leisure and a chance for study afforded only by the return of peace, before the report could properly be examined and applied.

M. Gouin, in a series of challenging comments, declared that the report could have no meaning for Canada, since it presupposed the right of the Canadian government to set up a body to re-examine the country's federal structure. But that precisely was what the central parliament could not do, because each of the provinces—Quebec included—was a sovereign community, equal in all respects to the national government and owing its existence not at all to the national government but to a prior "compact," which "compact" resulted in the creation of a Canadian federation. M. Gouin was voicing a well-known French-Canadian view of Canadian constitutional history, and he was met with vigorous replies from many sections of the audience.

A more intrinsic critique of the report was made



by the redoubtable Frank Scott. Professor Scott maintained that the commission failed to do the job it might have done by a consideration of the whole economic structure of the nation with a view to proposing basic changes leading to a better economic and political order. Specifically, he charged, the commission ignored the highly significant work and findings of the 1934 Royal Commission on price spreads where the growing monopolistic character of Canadian industry was unfolded to an apathetic Canadian public.

The extent of the transformation of Canada's economy by the war and for the war, was given a broad analysis by Donald Gibson and Professor K. W. Taylor. Both speakers may not have intended to convey such an impression but it was clear from their surveys that the war was leaving Canada with only a semblance of a free economy. The ideas and the methods of the collective state were gradually being woven into the fabric of what was, basically, a capitalistic order. Methods of control already appear to have been established affecting almost every phase of industrial and agricultural production as well as regulating the country's price structure.

No period of the conference provoked such a warm and ready audience response as the material presented by several panelists dealing with Pan-American hemispheric coöperation and the need for Canadian participation in the movement for such concerted economic and political action as was now being initiated and led by the United States. The major thesis of this proposition was set out by Clark Foreman of the department of the interior, Washington. Mr. Foreman insisted that whether Germany or Britain was the victor a regional economic organization of the western hemisphere was necessary to protect its independence as well as its standard of living. The world was to become a series of large scale aggregations of states trading with other aggregations. Only equally strong aggregations of regional communities could compete with these greater states.

In these views Mr. Foreman had the support of Professors F. H. Underhill and P. E. Corbett. Before Professor Underhill had gone very far with his delightful irony it was clear that it would bear fruit not only among the tempers of the pro-British sections of the audience, but too, in the editorial columns of the Ontario press.

The conference reached its climax with the appearance of the celebrated French political commentator, Geneviève Tabouis. To a full and enthusiastic house she ascribed the fall of France to the political and spiritual decay since 1918 and warned that the British Empire should not overrate German strength and thereby fall into the

dangerous belief that Hitler cannot be destroyed. A frail-looking trim and grey-haired woman in her middle fifties there was nothing to suggest that she had only a few weeks earlier escaped from France with her life.

Nine days of words and phrases, of ideas and critiques, what did it all mean to a country in full stride of an all-out war effort? Was this the way in which a "liberal" democracy should work, with the opportunity to think and to debate largely unqualified by the sacrifices called for in a supreme national effort? But could there be a real national unity, a complete undeviating singleness of purpose where men were still free to speak their fears, to discuss their hopes and to irritate their fellows by talking of the things many did not dare allow themselves even to imagine? These are thoughts which Couchiching must have left with those who turned from its green waters and mossy shores to the reality of living and working, and fighting in a war-strained world.

Yet is not the answer to these doubts, to this frequent sense of unreality, to this paradox of a continuing freedom in a war-making program that is so unfree, is not the answer to be found in the ultimate objectives for which Canada has chosen to share in that war-making—namely, the destruction of Nazi Germany with the evil and anti-humane forces which Hitler has decreed shall govern and the creation, instead, of a free and secure social order? Is that not the spiritual base upon which a liberal democracy must make its stand and from which it can derive the strength to continue the struggle? And to keep that strength surely it must preserve within itself those personal freedoms, self-disciplined but still free, that alone can continue to give the community the character of a liberal society.

## Like Many Drowning Hands

Like many drowning hands that grip a branch,  
Hands without bodies, hands whose grip was stanch  
Once till the numbing cold has made them blanch  
And shudder and slip slowly, hopelessly,

Just so the leaves slip, weary, without grief,  
Without a will and almost with relief,  
From nights grown long, from days grown cold  
and brief

Into the longest night, the coldest sea.

Like actors in a death-scene played with poise  
Lest rant make critics smile or scare small boys,  
They fall: no blood, no gesture, and no noise.  
An empty nest clings to a naked tree.

PETER VIERECK



# Labor's Wounds Are Healing

*Duff Munro*

**T**HE ALL-CANADIAN Congress of Labor and the Canadian Committee for Industrial Organization, in joint, early-September convention at Toronto, pooled their constituent unions in a new central labor body, the Canadian Congress of Labor. The congress unites most of the industrial-type unions in Canada and starts operations with a membership estimated by its officers at "nearly 100,000," but probably closer to 75,000.

(Hereafter, I use initials to indicate the wordy titles traditionally employed by labor organizations. This may confuse the reader occasionally, but there seems no alternative.)

The merger gave immediate advantages to a number of interested parties: to ACCL, 55,000—again a probable over-estimate—new dues-payers; to CCIO, a respectability it has coveted since Mitch Hepburn blackguarded its parent in 1937; to the dominion government, an assurance of conservative control over the bad boys of the labor movement; to the movement generally, an important step toward simplification of the tragically complex division within it. In this last connection, it should be noted as a good augury for the future that CCL brings together two hitherto hostile points of view, the determined nationalism on which ACCL was founded and the international outlook of the CIO affiliates.

Generally speaking, the friends of labor can welcome the merger as constructive. The one possible source of disappointment is that they may expect too much of it. The preliminary negotiations between the two groups were conducted to the accompaniment of a good deal of talk about organizing the unorganized, a policy which would certainly involve political conflict since any effective campaign must touch war industry—steel, auto, airplane.

Since neither leadership, candor nor free expression from the floor flourished at the convention, the delegates departed without much idea of what action was proposed on this score. What evidences existed were, however, not such as to encourage hopes or fears of aggressiveness in either the political or the organizational field.

In the interests of realism, the new congress must be regarded as an alliance among three old and strongly-entrenched unions: the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, backbone of ACCL; the United Mine Workers (coal), CIO's founding father, with two great districts in Canada, east and west; and the Amalgamated Clothing

Workers (men's and boys'), Sidney Hillman's union, in Canada centred at Montreal and Toronto. CBRE (about 15,000) and UMW (about 20,000) are the largest unions in Canada.

Their domination of the congress is indicated by the slate of officers they elected to guide it. The seven-man executive board includes: A. R. Mosher (CBRE), of Ottawa, president; Pat Conroy (UMW), of Alberta, vice-president; Sol Spivak (Amalgamated), of Toronto; M. M. Maclean (CBRE), of Ottawa; and Silby Barrett (UMW), of Nova Scotia. The other two members are Norman Dowd, of Ottawa, ACCL secretary, who retains the post in the new congress, and Charles Millard, of Toronto, secretary of CCIO.

Mr. Millard must be regarded as the only representative of the new unionism on the executive. Employed by the CCIO, he is a member of the United Automobile Workers and is presently directing the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee. From him, therefore, must be expected any aggressive action, on CIO principles, toward new organization. An executive council, drawn from all affiliating unions will, it is true, meet occasionally, but no one who watched convention proceedings can doubt that its policy-making powers will be rigidly limited.

Like most veteran unionists, the leaders of the Big Three have a philosophy which can be expressed by the line from the old story: "We don't want no trouble." Unfortunately, events had saddled them with it. In ACCL, the Railway Employees found themselves grouped with a large assortment of small unions, most of them "dual" and troublesome rebels, in construction, steel, brewing and even Mr. Barrett's coal mines and Mr. Spivak's garment plants. On the CIO side, the miners and clothing-workers have been perforce allied, through John L. Lewis' efforts to organize the unorganized, with a number of young, pushing and sometimes embarrassing unions operating in mass industries that vehemently resent unionization. It is at least a fair supposition that in the new alliance, which their delegates can and did control, the leaders of these old-line unions saw a release from the importunities of their headstrong younger brethren. Organization in new fields thrives on trouble and requires of the older unions a willingness to make present sacrifices and the vision to recognize long-range gains.

Further, large-scale organization costs money. The new congress will collect two cents a month as

per capita from affiliated unions, the great mass of its membership, and 25 cents per member per month from directly-chartered and otherwise unattached local unions. A possibly wild guess would place its income around \$30,000 a year, scarcely enough, after deductions, for a broad campaign.

There remains the question of organizational philosophy. While CIO has believed in avoidance of jurisdictional disputes and insistence upon contracts that meet fixed standards, ACCL has frankly believed in accepting members from fields where other unions exist—"dualism"—and in signing whatever contracts can be gained, even if they are "sub-standard."

On the purely political side, CCF came out best at the convention, but apparently yielded to expediency in the matter of the somewhat anaemic set of

resolutions which alone established CCL's creed. In the privacy of future executive sessions, CCF may well enforce the firmer political stand which many believe essential at the present juncture, but its representatives will have to overcome hesitation on the part of forces in the former ACCL, which always got on fine with the government.

It must be emphasized in conclusion that events may prove all the misgivings implied above to have been groundless. It is too early for much more than a warning to the friends of labor that the merger, a fundamentally sound step, has its inherent limitations and that too much must not be expected of it. The basic task of bringing unionism to the masses of the workers remains, and no one can yet tell whether it will be helped by creation of the new congress or hindered by the passing of CCIO. We can only, as usual, hope for the best.

## Parties and Profits

*Gordon O. Rothney*

**A** SUPPORTER of the Mackenzie King administration is one who opposes the principle of the C.C.F. budget amendment which called for "a 100% tax on all profits in excess of a fixed return on capital invested." This is the logical inference from the fact that on no other issue since the outbreak of war has the Conservative party in the House of Commons voted solidly against the government, thus leaving the Liberals (with their Liberal-Progressive, Independent-Liberal, and Independent satellites) to stand alone.

When the present ministry first took office, it was seldom opposed by all the opposition members at the same time. Thus in the 1936 session of parliament, when the Conservatives attempted to block both the 1935 trade agreement with the U. S. A. and the bill to establish public control of the Bank of Canada, the Liberals had the support of the Social Credit and C.C.F. members. Conversely, whenever either of these new groups voted against the government in those days, they found themselves voting against the official opposition as well. There was, then, some ground for the idea that Liberalism occupies a central position somewhere between a conservative Right and a radical Left. This theory, however, is not borne out by the attitudes which the various parties have now adopted on the question of profiteering in war-time.

In dealing with excess profits, the first step must be to decide what constitutes standard profits. Colonel Ralston's decision, announced in this year's budget speech, was that the average profits for the

years 1936, 1937, 1938 and 1939 should be considered as the standard, and that everything in excess of that amount would be taxed at a rate of 75%. In no case, however, would an incorporated company be allowed to pay an excess profits tax which, when combined with its 18% income tax, amounted to less than 30% of its total profits. Special provisions were made for gold and oil producers, for businesses with rapidly expanding capital, and for industries which have been depressed.

All that the Conservative financial critic, Mr. Harris of Toronto, had to say about the excess profits tax was, "I support it." But the acting C.C.F. leader, Mr. Coldwell, felt strongly that "if we ask men to lay down their lives . . . then we have a right to ask that Canadian industry shall forgo all profits for at least the duration of the war," and he accordingly moved, on behalf of his group, the C.C.F. amendment to the budget resolution.

As a number of large corporations were already producing highly profitable war materials during the past four years, the C.C.F. argued that standard profits should be fixed by the government so as to allow only a fair return on capital for the risk taken. Their motion, however, did not indicate what they would consider as a fair return, and was perhaps, therefore, more acceptable to the Conservatives.

The government's reply was that, with over 32,000 corporations and an unknown number of other persons doing business, it would be impossible

to secure agreement as to what constitutes a fair return, and that "in the great majority of cases" what had been made over a period of four years should be taken as fair enough.

Mr. Douglas (C.C.F.) remarked that, in the case of a business depressed during the standard period, provision was made for ascertaining a standard of profits which would allow a return of between 5% and 10% of the capital employed; and he urged that the same principle be applied to firms which had done exceptionally well during the last four years. He proposed a maximum standard of, say, 15% or 20% on capital invested. Again the new minister of finance, Mr. Ilsley, replied that for administrative reasons it simply could not be done, and that he was satisfied with the provision that total taxes must equal at least 30% of total profits.

The other C.C.F. demand was that the rate of tax on excess profits should be 100%. In the words of Mr. MacInnis,

this group repudiates the doctrine, both in war and in peace times, that any individual or group of individuals has the right to exploit the natural resources of the country and the people of the country for private gain. We are therefore, as a matter of principle, opposed to the exemption of excess profits, to any extent.

Opposition Leader Hanson's contributions were, "No doubt the minister will reply to that," and "In England they have no corporation income tax." The only Conservative to give an intimation that his party might vote for the amendment was Mr. Green, who, as compared with Mr. Hanson and Mr. Harris, might be called a "Tory Democrat." Declaring that business leaders asked only a reasonable profit, which could easily be determined, and that all excess should go to the nation, he believed "such a provision in the budget would have done more than anything else could possibly have done to make our people realize that there would be some equality of sacrifice in facing this war."

It was Mr. Abbott, the new Liberal member for Montreal's plutocratic St. Antoine-Westmount, who undertook to answer the C.C.F. He accused Mr. Coldwell of underestimating the amount of taxation which corporations would bear. The C.C.F. chairman replied that he had also underestimated the amount of profit which they would keep, and that, unlike Mr. Abbott, he was not so interested in the fact that even if they did not increase their 1939 earnings the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company would pay well over three million dollars a year to the government, as in the fact that they would still have an annual return on their capital of 41.8%. "The important question is not the amount of taxes paid, but the amount and rate of profits left."

The C.C.F. amendment was defeated by 121 to 45, but it received the united support of the Conservative and New Democracy groups. Lest any of his friends might raise their eyebrows, Mr. Hanson made an explanatory statement when the House took up the budget resolutions in committee of ways and means. The leader of His Majesty's opposition speaks:

The principle followed in England is that the government takes all, over and above the best year in a range of years . . . I believe we might give careful consideration to that fact . . . that is the reason why I voted for the amendment offered by the leader of the Coöperative Commonwealth Federation . . . The people who are going to pay will expect that those who are engaged in industry and are assured of a decent return on the risk involved should not go beyond that. That is my considered judgment, after giving careful thought to the matter . . . Some will say that I have developed into a socialist, but that is not the case. I have taken this position having regard to the time and the situation . . . I believe that patriotic industry in the country will sustain the government.

And the minister of finance replies:

We are not by any means into full industrial employment in this country, and there must be, we think, some profit incentive for the expansion of industry . . . We have something over four billion dollars of United States capital invested in Canada, and we have thousands — I speak loosely and subject to correction — of plants which are owned wholly by United States capital . . . I do not think this country, situated as it is, with such a large amount of foreign capital invested in it, is in a position to rely on the patriotic motive.

Mr. Hanson explained, "I do not entirely agree with the theories of the leader of the Coöperative Commonwealth Federation on the basis he has set up, but I think that in the given case you could take 100% of the profit." Presumably he would have preferred a higher standard base as in the United Kingdom, thus leaving a smaller excess to be taxed.

The inclination to imitate the "old country" plays a large part in the mentality of our National Conservative party. A desire to go "full out" in this empire war, together with the fact that Labor is now influencing the policy of a British government which still includes Mr. Chamberlain, helps to explain the Hansonian willingness to accept some relatively advanced proposals; and the Conservatives, who have recently captured Saskatoon City from the Left, are actually showing some signs of political revival after reaching a low mark when Duplessis ran amuck a year ago. But, of course, they regard an excess profits tax strictly as a war measure, whereas to the C.C.F. it is bound up with a fundamental principle for which the need is only a little more obvious now than in peace-time.

As for the Liberals, they are less sentimental than the opposition about copying England, are not



so panicky about the war, and still cling here and there to laissez-faire capitalism. They consider it impracticable to set fair standard profits and hold that a 100% tax on profiteering would block industrial expansion—strong arguments for government ownership of all essential war industries! They impose drastic taxes on wage earners in order to pay American capitalists for employing Canadians to produce in their own country materials which are urgently required. Although descended from Grit-Rouge radicals, they are no longer even a centre party. So far as the people of Canada are concerned the true principles of economic liberalism, which require that the ordinary individual shall have freedom to participate in the wealth of his country and that he shall not be exploited in the interests of a privileged few, now appear to be monopolized by the young political movements of the Left.

## Co-operatives in Canada

Part II - *Janet Coerr*

CANADA POSSESSES many flourishing co-operatives, but there cannot be said to be a Canadian co-operative movement. The individual co-operatives of Canada are not conscious parts of a greater whole. In Scandinavia, in Great Britain, in the U. S., and wherever co-operatives are prominent in the national scene, they present a united front to the nation and the world. It is as true today as when George Mooney wrote it two years ago<sup>1</sup> that . . . "the fact that co-operative societies in Great Britain and elsewhere are organized into great national federations, gives them a collective strength in influencing political, economic and social developments which they would not otherwise, as individual consumers or isolated co-operative societies, enjoy. And that is exactly what the co-operative developments at present existing in Canada need most—a strong national organization which will unify, co-ordinate and develop the movement."

There exists, in the Co-operative Union of Canada, the possible nucleus of a national organization of real power and influence. But this organization, founded in 1901, has made slow progress in bringing together the scattered and heterogeneous co-operatives of Canada. Its last annual report shows less than one hundred affiliates, a disappointingly small proportion of the 3,987 co-operatives listed by the dominion department of agriculture in 1937.<sup>2</sup> As the united execu-

tive board of the Co-operative Union itself reported to the congress last July, "... it may be noted from the statistical information furnished in this report that while on the whole the affiliates of the union have had a successful year, and have effected substantial economies for their members, the membership of the union is a very small proportion of the organizations carrying on business in this country which claim to be co-operative."<sup>3</sup>

The continued lack of an adequate national organization comprising all the co-operatives in all the provinces seems to be due in part to the non-cooperation of the regional associations, in part to the leadership and policies of the union itself, and in large measure to geographic and political limitations. Since the majority of Canadian co-operatives are in the rural areas, distances between members are large, and between societies, even greater. Real physical barriers present themselves to the frequent consultation necessary for joint enterprise. Again, lack of uniform provincial legislation regarding co-operatives often bars concerted action.

Because the individual successful co-operative societies and regional wholesales have developed independently, they have been inclined to stand off from the co-operative union, unwilling to turn over a proportion of their earnings to a body whose leadership they are not always in agreement with. Even some of the member organizations are reluctant in their financial support. Lately the union has intimated that provincial or regional co-operatives which have long been members on the basis of an annual fixed assessment should increase their dues to correspond with their increased prosperity. Altogether the individual co-operative societies have been backward in applying to association and co-operation with other societies the principles set forth in their own by-laws.

The leadership and policies of the co-operative union show the direct influence of British traditions and practice. Since the beginning Canadian co-operative organizations have been forced into the British mold by loyal old country co-operators, although it is questionable whether British methods and institutions can be taken over without considerable modification. Canadian background and problems bear much more resemblance to those of the burgeoning co-operatives below the border, which are following quite a different road.

The present structure of the Co-operative Union of Canada is patterned loosely after that of the British Co-operative Union. It is a federation of co-operative organizations, governed by a biennial congress of delegates from the component societies. This congress elects a united board to administer

3. The Canadian Co-operator, July, 1940.

1. Co-operatives Today and Tomorrow—the Survey Committee, Montreal, 1938.

2. Many of the 3,987 were probably not genuine co-operatives in the strict Rochdale sense.

the general affairs of the union. The union will accept into the fold any association 'adopting the essential and basic principles of the coöperative movement—if they conform in practice as well as in theory to these principles.' This broad basis of acceptance means that the membership is a variegated assortment of federations, producers pools, dairy societies, wholesale associations and retail societies. In the U. S. the comparable national body is an educational league for federations, and does not accept retail coöps as members. Retail units exert their voting power through their regional associations, and pay dues only once, a more logical arrangement. The membership of the Coöperative League of the U. S. A. is none the less representative. It includes practically every regional federation from New England to the Pacific coast. The Coöperative Union unfortunately cannot claim that it speaks for more than a few of the coöperatives in Canada. Its last congress was attended by delegates from the Maritimes, Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan only. An analysis of the member societies shows 22 in Saskatchewan, 18 in Ontario, 13 in British Columbia, 9 in Manitoba, 6 apiece for Alberta and Quebec, and only 3 in Nova Scotia and 2 in New Brunswick, where the greatest coöperative development has come in recent years.

A body representing all the coöperatives in Canada and working for their interests should collect statistics on coöperatives, and make available to every member all useful information on latest developments in coöperative business. Like any other efficient propaganda office, it should publish or arrange to have published, news stories, articles, pamphlets and books relating to coöperation. It should keep a close check on national and provincial legislation affecting coöperatives, and mobilize coöperative membership for action whenever necessary. It should conduct a school for coöperative employees and educational directors. It should arrange summer and week-end institutes where coöperative members, directors, and employees could meet to compare notes on their coöperative progress and learn cooperative history, principles and technique in various fields. It should encourage coöperative recreation. It should establish friendly relations and arrange joint conferences with church groups, educators, credit unions, organized labor, and others likely to be interested in the coöperative movement. It should have a staff large enough to send out fieldmen to help new coöperatives establish themselves, and aid those already under way when they meet with difficulties. It is the body best fitted to undertake product research and provide consumers with an intelligence service about the goods they buy.

All this the union does or has tried to do—but it has been severely hampered by lack of funds and a permanent office staff of only two people. It is not surprising that the coöperative union has no real publicity service, does little publishing, has no employee training, and cannot send out fieldmen. Its greatest services to date have been in the field of legislation. It fought successfully the taxation of purchase dividends as profits when the income tax was first introduced, and helped to obtain complete exemption for farmers' and fishermen's societies. Four years ago the union succeeded in obtaining an addendum to an amendment of the Criminal Code, making it clear that purchase dividends could not be construed as discriminatory trade discounts. It has taken similar action for protection of coöperatives under the Alberta trade and industry act, and is now waging a campaign against the law in Ontario prohibiting the organization by consumers of coöperative dairies. In 1906 and twice afterwards it made efforts to bring the coöperatives under the uniform supervision of dominion authorities through a dominion-wide law.

A large part of the inadequacy of the union seems to be connected with its finances. Its support is supposed to come from its members, each of whom are asked to pay one dollar for each thousand dollars of sales per year. Lately a change has been made so that societies belonging to a wholesale are allowed to join en masse if they pay dues of one dollar per thousand dollars of purchases from the wholesale. For a number of years past a good portion of the expenses of the union have been underwritten by the English and Scottish coöperative wholesale societies, with what one would judge as unequal value received. Even so, the coöperative union lacks sufficient funds for really effective educational and promotional activity. If it is ever to become the real spearhead of coöperative action, it must enlist a far larger proportion of all the coöperatives in Canada, and it must have money from them to carry out a much wider program. Both needs might be met if the union, which is now undertaking educational work only, were to extend its sphere of operations and engage in business for its members. Plans for a national coöperative wholesale are now under way. Were the coöperative union to join forces with the projected organization, it might provide just the impetus needed to get the Canadian coöperative movement rolling.

All along the line, from small retail unit up through regional wholesale, coöperative education and business in Canada go on side by side. It is only when the national stage is reached that the separation of functions takes place. It seems



unfortunate that at this critical stage in coöperative development in Canada there should be any unnecessary duplication of time, energy or funds. Two types of national coöperative structure have been experimented with in other countries. Canada may profit by their errors, and choose for herself the type most suited to her needs.

The British model, to which Canadian coöperators have been drawn by old associations and ties, is of the dual organization type. The educational federation is nominally separate from the national business organization, the CWS. In practice many of the directors of one are directors of the other. Today official leaders of both the union and the wholesale are outspoken in declaring that the dual organization plan they have inherited is outmoded, uneconomical and cumbersome. Sweden early tried the dual plan of organization but soon discarded it for a unit plan in which educational and economic functions are integral departments of a single national body, the notably successful *Koöperativa Förbundet*. Switzerland, Denmark and Norway also adopted the unit plan after observing the results of a dual structure. In the U. S. there are unit-retails, unit-regionals, but dual national organizations. The trend, however, is toward unity.

The objection generally raised to combination is that the educational and idealistic side of the movement will be subordinated to business success. Whether this is true depends on the type of men at the head of the organization. Generally coöperative leaders are motivated by something other than material gain, or they would never have entered coöperative business. Experience has shown, moreover, that coöperative business leaders are apt to be the most ardent advocates of a broad educational program.

In Canada at present there are foundations of wholesales in nearly every province, though few have gone beyond the collective buying stage. Already provincial marketing associations such as the United Farmers of Ontario and the *Coöperative Fédérée de Québec* have started to combine the functions of sales agency and purchasing wholesale for their affiliates. The movement toward a national wholesale now under way has been initiated by the three western coöperative wholesales and consumers coöperative refineries. The plan is to incorporate under a dominion charter. If the eastern coöperative wholesales are not at first willing to join, the disposition is to form the wholesale regardless, leaving provision for the easterners to join later.

The need for such a wholesale, to put its whole buying power behind even the smallest retail coöperative, is great. Just as essential is an

educational program to buttress and consolidate business advancement. In Canada we have made a unique contribution to coöperative practice in the adult education technique developed by the teachers of St. Francis Xavier. The method perfected by the extension department of the university consists in the linking of adult education to coöperative action. The priests start by getting the people in the small towns they visit to discussing such general questions as "What is wrong with our society today? What can we ourselves do to better economic conditions in our community?" From these discussions study clubs develop. Tying up study with their most vital concern, the struggle for a living, gives the members of these clubs a strong motivation for learning. Education comes to mean, not "culture" in a vacuum, but a powerful tool to use in making over their own communities and "building a decent Christian social order." Thus every credit union and coöp buying club in the Maritimes is preceded by months of careful study, and the coöperators commence with a full realization of the difficulties they face, and most important of all, with a vision of their larger aim. More solid coöperative progress has been made in the Maritimes in this way since 1930 than has taken place in the rest of Canada in the last thirty years. Yet the people now enthusiastically building their coöperative stores, canning factories, and housing projects have come from the poorest section of the population and from economically depressed areas.

What has been done in the Maritimes could be duplicated elsewhere in Canada, if there were the men and money to do it. St. FX put \$136,000 into its "reckless social experiment." Wherever a group of people would listen, men went out to talk study groups and coöperative action. When one of these groups wrote to the extension department that they were interested, study outlines, books and pamphlet material went out to give them help. Now much of this work has been taken over by the Credit Union League and is paid for by their own funds. Once a year a hundred key people from the surrounding districts go back to the university. For a month they hear talks and participate in discussions of new methods and ideas, exchange experiences, and go back to work with renewed courage and belief in the possibilities of coöperation.

It is significant that in these coöperatives, founded by the men of Antigonish, farmers, industrial workers, fishermen and miners have been brought together without regard to race, religion, political faith or profession. Since roughly one-third of Canada's population is engaged in agriculture, and this same one-third receives but a sixth



of the national income, clearly it is to this group that the principal effort at spreading coöperation must be directed. Once there is a strong, informed movement among the rural population, rural producer-consumer and urban producer-consumer are more likely to establish friendly relations, through heightened understanding of the part each must play in the life of the nation.

The whole movement in the Maritimes is new, vigorous, and admirably adapted to the Canadian economy and people. In its extension, by a national organization on a national scale, lies the greatest possibility for a strong and useful Canadian Coöperative Movement.

## Civil Liberties

ACTIVITIES on the civil liberties front continue as in previous months: nothing outstanding; a number of minor and nuisance prosecutions under the Defense of Canada Regulations. ¶ Add to the banned periodical list newspapers from Nazi-dominated France accused of being "anti-British," and four U. S. magazines, *Pic*, *Sensation*, *Co-Eds* and *Spicy Mysteries*. The last three probably are more connected with license than liberty. ¶ Alleged Communists continue to "get it in the neck." David Sinclair, whom the newspapers claim was the self-elected head of the Seamen's Union following Pat Sullivan's arrest, was seized in Ottawa by the R.C.M.P. and interned. Police made a night raid on three Montreal homes, arrested Romeo Duval, Bernard Moreyne and Robert Berube, who are now interned. In another raid Sol Bercovitz was apprehended for internment and a large quantity of literature seized. Alderman Jacob Penner of Winnipeg, who was sent to an internment camp in August when arrested along with John Narvis but later brought back to Manitoba, lost his appeal against detention by federal order. And the *Free Press* has suggested editorially that it wouldn't be in good taste for his running mate on the aldermanic ticket, who is still at large, to run again next year. In Regina, Clifford Peat, and his assistant, Gladys Macdonald, were sentenced to a year at hard labor in connection with the publication of "The Saskatchewan Factory and Furrow." Joseph Slavovsky, in whose home it was printed, got six months; his wife was discharged with a warning. ¶ Another outlawed organization, the National Unity party, brought grief to two former members: J. D. H. Bouchard, released on \$3,000 bail after two months in Ottawa jail, was immediately whisked away to internment camp, as was his confrere, Alex Brosseau, two months previously. They may be allowed to return for their regular trial on charges of spreading subversive statements. Leonard Kruger of Thornhill, Man., had his teaching certificate cancelled, though he claimed to have severed connections with the Arcand outfit. ¶ Other cases noted the past month dealing with causing disaffection and prejudicing recruiting, etc.: Quebec—Philibert Drouin sentenced to 20 days in jail. Sherbrooke—L. C. Allen of Philadelphia fined \$25 and recommended for deportation. (This won't help the tourist business.) Hamilton—Alfred Luchinger, Swiss, who made "certain remarks" and hurled his employer's kitten to death on the floor after hearing of British air victories, sentenced to four months. (The S.P.C.A. will welcome this.) Sudbury—Attorney-General Conant is not satisfied with the \$25 fine imposed on R. T. Stevens, theatre owner, and will seek an appeal.

North Bay—Eugene Pistoia fined \$100 and costs for remarks made while being taken to jail on a drunkenness charge. C. R. Schewe of Pittsburg, who told the court he was just kidding, was fined \$50 for "performing actions contrary to the D. of C. regulations." No doubt Mr. Conant will now seek to have all Pennsylvanians barred from entry. Winnipeg—Peter Martynyk, discharged overseas C.A.S.F. soldier, faces six charges under the D. of C. regulations for writing threatening letters to three industrial concerns. Maybe he wanted a job. Fritz Bringman got 12 months for disloyal statements. Lethbridge — Tom Kantymer, a Pole, got 12 months for "disaffecting" remarks. ¶ Montreal's executive committee have decided to oust Henry Teuscher, American citizen of German origin, employed at the Botanical Gardens. ¶ The Hamilton board of education apparently believes that expelling 10 children for refusing to salute the flag and sing the the national anthem will instil in them ardent loyalty and patriotism. Premier Hepburn has ordered an immediate investigation. (Why not a Royal Commission?) The fact has apparently eluded them that it might have something to do with religious scruples. As in Kitchener, where Lambro Gekeff, alleged Jehovah Witness, stands charged under the regulations for advising his three expelled children they didn't need to take part in the exercises. ¶ The report of the committee on revision of the D. of C. regulations was presented before the House adjourned, but was tabled by the government, thus neatly avoiding any debate on the matter.

## O CANADA!

A distressing practice is being followed by some Lethbridge citizens who lack sufficient patriotism to turn out for training. They line themselves along streets and make insulting and sneering remarks to those who object to Hitlerism.

Lethbridge militia officers have made up their minds that this practice is to be stopped immediately. They have asked the *Herald* to serve warning that the very next time it is encountered, the soldiers who are addressed from the sidelines are to be given permission to take matters into their own hands. And when the fracas eventually subsides, those responsible will face charges under defence of Canada regulations.

(Lethbridge Herald, Aug. 15)

Furnished Houses for Sale or Rent in  
NASSAU, BAHAMAS

Small islands; large and small estates; revenue bearing business property. **No income taxes. No land taxes. 2% inheritance tax.**

(Advertisement in Toronto Star, Aug. 27)

The Ogdensburg agreement is a realistic approach to the defense problems of this continent, Prime Minister King told the press tonight, but it does not commit either government to any definite action.

(Globe and Mail, Toronto, Aug. 21)

Down below Threadneedle Street, Montagu Norman and the directors of the Bank of England met in the vaults.

The bank, commented Mr. Norman, has been "somewhat upset," and he deplored the necessity for gathering "in this dreary catacomb." Then, briskly, the directors declared a 6 per cent dividend.

(Globe and Mail, Sept. 20)

**This month's prize of \$1 or six months' subscription goes to D. P. Morrison, Lethbridge, Alberta. All contributions should contain original clipping, the date and name of publication from which taken.**

## The Saskatoon By-Election

*Helen Orpwood*

THE BY-ELECTION for the federal seat of Saskatoon (the third federal election in this constituency in less than a year) was notable chiefly for two things; first the phoenix-like rising from the ashes of the Conservative party as a political force; and second, the two and three-way splits in all other major parties.

Saskatoon has had rather bad luck in its political choices of late. First Dr. A. Macgillivray Young, (Liberal), Saskatoon member for a good many years, died in July, 1939. At the by-election of December, 1939, the Rev. W. G. Brown was swept into victory by an almost two to one majority over his only opponent, M. P. Hayes, Liberal. It was during this campaign that birth was given to the United Reform Movement which contained such an odd assortment of bed-fellows as Conservatives, Communists, Social Creditors, C. C. F., Labor and other assorted "progressives."

Only a man such as the Rev. W. G. Brown could have held this heterogeneous collection of political incompatibles together. But then, it is safe to say that no matter what political platform Dr. Brown had chosen to run on in the constituency of Saskatoon, he would have been elected. Even those who did not agree with his concepts of justice and human rights loved him and respected him for his honesty, his steadfastness of purpose and his complete fearlessness.

At the noted four-hour session of parliament the Rev. W. G. Brown took his seat, introduced by Miss Agnes Macphail. At the general election of March, the United Reform Movement again nominated Dr. Brown, and although he was too ill in Ottawa to conduct any part of his campaign, he won with the largest majority of any candidate in Canada over Mayor Carl Niderost (Liberal) who just managed to save his deposit, and Col. Arnold (Independent Social Credit) who polled a scant 200 votes. Unfortunately, before parliament convened Dr. Brown died in Ottawa, necessitating Saskatoon's third election in less than a year.

With no Dr. Brown to hold the movement united, the United Reform Movement rapidly became shot with dissension. The Conservatives, beginning to have independent political ambitions once more, were not very keen on committing themselves to the support of a "reform" candidate just in order to beat the Liberals. Another very miscellaneous group, led by the Rev. Brown's successor in the pulpit of St. Andrew's church, Rev. Bradley, became alarmed lest the Communists gain control

of the Movement; charged that no proper election of officers had ever taken place, and called a meeting for July 18. At that meeting, which according to newspaper reports was very sparsely attended and was three-quarters of an hour late in getting started, the "Canadian United Reform Movement" was set up in which there was "no room for any person who believes in Karl Marx." Both the United Reform Movement and the Canadian United Reform Movement claimed to be following the ideals of democracy, freedom and tolerance of the Rev. W. G. Brown.

When the election for August 19 was announced, the United Reform Movement (united no longer) was in a pretty mess. Hon. W. D. Herridge and Agnes Macphail were both invited to seek the nomination. Herridge arrived in Saskatoon prior to the nomination meeting and left the same day, stating that he had only flown all the way from eastern Canada to thank the United Reformers for suggesting his name. Miss Macphail, however, apparently not quite so well-informed concerning the exact internal situation of the United Reform Movement, stated she was ready to carry on Mr. Brown's movement and accepted the nomination.

Logically, one would have expected this split to give the Liberals their opportunity to regain the seat. The unhappy fact was, however, that the liberals were even more badly split than the United Reformers. At their nominating convention, held on July 30, Sid Johns and M. P. Hayes both tried for the nomination, Hayes getting it by a scant twenty-five votes. Whereupon Mr. Johns asked his supporters to give their votes to Mr. Hayes, make the decision unanimous, and pledged his personal support to Mr. Hayes as the Liberal candidate.

Therefore, it was a distinct shock to everyone, when on nomination day, it was disclosed that Mr. Johns had entered the lists as an "Independent Liberal" backed by a very considerable portion of the Liberal party. Had Mr. Johns been able to get the official Liberal nomination he probably would have stood a good chance of election, because as manager of the Saskatoon Exhibition, he is a very well-known figure, and prior to his rather questionable manner of entering the political arena, a very popular person.

The Conservatives nominated Alderman A. H. Bence, LL. B., who was by far the youngest candidate in the field, a fact that was well publicized in his election propaganda. Col. G. H. Bradbrooke, D.S.O., M.C., entered the lists as a "soldier candidate." It is interesting to note that he also tried to cash in on Dr. Brown's popularity by prominently displaying on all his advertisements and posters: "Bradbrooke is the only candidate who actively

supported and worked for the late Rev. W. G. Brown in both his elections." Finally, trailing the field, came another erstwhile Liberal, Wilna Moore, who also had an extensive "reform" platform, and supported "Dr. Brown's ideals."

The campaign, carried on as it was during the hottest part of the summer when a good many people are on holiday, was not a particularly lively one. Sid Johns spent the most money, plastering the city with posters and leaflets, and filling the newspaper and advertising sheets with huge advertisements. He made few speeches, admitted he had no platform, but stated he would support the government. All of the non-Liberal candidates took the opportunity to attack the government for its war policy (or lack of it), for its wheat policy (or lack of it) and pointed out how much a strong opposition was needed. Mr. Hayes spent his time attacking Miss Macphail for her supposed pacifist utterances of the past and for the fact that she was an easterner; and defending the government.

Indeed, all the candidates lost no opportunity in pointing out that they were home-town boys and that no matter who was elected, the electorate should see to it that it wasn't that nasty woman from the east who couldn't get elected in her own constituency. In spite of that Miss Macphail had the largest and most enthusiastic election meetings, and being the clever speaker that she is, was able to take on the field verbally and give them as good as they sent. The "Canadian United Reform Movement" was not heard from.

Almost immediately it became apparent that the fight was between Bence and Macphail. Miss Macphail had the advantage of two overwhelming victories for her party behind her; and the color of fifteen years' experience. Mr. Bence had the advantages of being a local product, youth and the reputation of being an astute lawyer. No one questioned the integrity of either candidate. The Conservatives managed to collect in a good percentage of the Liberal vote that was completely fed up with the internal dissension in their party during the three elections. They carried on an extremely clever campaign, first of all putting most of their emphasis on the wheat policy of the present government which is a sore point in the west right now, and on "Win the War," and finishing up the campaign with a strong attack on Miss Macphail.

When this rather unique sweepstakes was run off on August 19, it was discovered that A. H. Bence was to be the new member of parliament for Saskatoon, leading the polls by a plurality of 745 with a total vote of 4,802. Miss Macphail, as predicted, ran second with 4,057. M. P. Hayes,

the official Liberal, was the only other one to save his deposit.

It is rather early to say definitely if this defeat will spell the complete collapse and fading away of the United Reform Movement but it is very doubtful if it will continue as any real force in local politics. It was never more than a local movement, and even as such it was held together solely by the efforts of one man—Rev. W. G. Brown, who is now dead.

It is a fairly safe prediction, that if Mr. Bence, M.P.-elect, will do something in Ottawa to make himself heard and known, and does not just warm one of the back benches on the opposition side, he should be able to keep the seat through several elections, and become a leading Conservative politician. No doubt the Liberals will make a strenuous effort to re-form their ranks and prevent any further fiascos such as this. It begins to look however, unless some change is made in the current wheat policy, as if the Conservative Party, whom everyone thought to be deadlier than a dodo, stands a chance of carrying not only Saskatoon, but the whole west, in the next general election.

## Irish Letter

*Ui Briuin*

*At Cliath, July-August*

**L**AST AUTUMN, sporadically accompanied by the painter, Paul Henry, Sean O Faolain bicycled around Ireland. The result, *Irish Journey*. Delightful in delineation of Cork and Kerry, O Faolain's own country, not so penetrating but still of value in comment on the north, this book is a 'must' for anyone trying to understand the west of Ireland—Ireland herself.

Because, before joining his like in Hell, Cromwell banished the Gaelic aristocracy to barren Connacht rocks, the west preserves most of our surviving native culture—culture distinct from the civilization that slaughtered or enslaved the Gaelic Catholic peasantry. The west is the base for our struggle to make Ireland again Gaelic in speech and thought—a struggle for an ideal more important than mere freedom from alien guns. Better rule by the Gail but Gaelic speech, than political freedom—with mind and tongue tied to Fleet Street and the BBC. Natural pride in our progress sometimes lets us ignore less happy aspects of native rule. Himself a Gaelic speaker, a fighter with word and gun against foreign lackey and mercenary, O Faolain can yet look impartially, even cynically, on the more naively exuberant manifestations of Gaelic resurrection. Many travel books lavish indiscrim-



inate praise, not always deserved; *An Irish Journey* is refreshing, a salutary tonic.

Best in new poetry is F. R. Higgins' *Gap of Brightness*, vivid poetry whose etched idiom sometimes slips into 'a young moon's screech of steel.' But this is offset by his warmly human lament for Padraic O'Conaire 'of the wide and sea-cold eyes'; the fierce despair of:

With salt I'm cursed, by church I'm banished  
Beyond your parish mearing stones;  
This Lent I've left black fast and ashes  
With parish holy bones;  
Salt days at table, nights without marriage  
Leave milkless paps in your female clan—  
But after Easter who'll ease your passion,  
O woman of the red-haired man?

Louis MacNeice, in *Last Ditch*, wonders:  
if in a year  
Democracy will be dead  
Or what is more to the point—  
If I shall be dead.

MacNeice has written some real poetry, but I doubt if he has it in him to be a great poet. Too often he doesn't even try; knowing his limits he accepts them, and publishes mere verse.

Yeats' *Letters on Poetry to Dorothy Wellesley* run from 1935 to the end, and cover his editorship of *Oxford Modern Verse*. They show the man as a great poet and acute critic, still holding to 'the main road, the road of naturalness and swiftness.' . . . Glimpses, too, of Yeats and Æ in Forrest Reid's autobiography *Private Road*. Æ failed to solve Reid's spiritual problems but advised meditation—to begin with, on an imaginary triangle . . .

The title of Flann O'Brien's *At-Swim-Two-Birds*, an old Gaelic place name on the Shannon, is irrelevant as is much of this perverse, fantastic, endlessly involved—novel, I must call it for want of a better name. *The Crock of Gold* and *Ulysses* are known as novels, and the great tales of Finn and Cuchulain have been called 'the first prose romances in Europe': *At-Swim-Two-Birds* is akin to all these. To summarize: A writes a novel, at the same time describes doing so, and keeps a diary. The novel is about B, who in turn writes about CDE, etc., characters he has created and keeps in his pub in order to do as he likes with them. Certain of B's characters invent a fantastical saga to avenge themselves on B, and all hell is loose.

'I cannot but conclude the bulk of your natives to be the most pernicious race of little odious vermin that nature ever suffered to crawl upon the surface of the earth.' So Brobdingnag's King to Gulliver. Unlike Brobdingnag, we are near Europe. One belligerent may decide to protect Ireland, with bombs; whereupon the other side would save

us, with bombs. Either way, Irishmen die. We are ready. Our army is at full strength, and still recruiting; Dev has even hinted at conscription. The young men—50,000 in a fortnight—and many old I.R.A. men, who won us our freedom, are joining the Local Security Force. Censorship is strict. The military searches ships before they dock. Phoenix Park is barricaded and staked, aerodromes and other open spaces rendered 'unattractive.' De Valera sums up: 'So long as a part of Ireland is subject to force by a stronger nation, it is only natural that the people should look to their own country first!' But, 'We are not going to allow our territory, under any conditions whatever, to be made use of by some foreign power as the basis of attack against Britain.' And, warning a minority meditating treason despite our 'immediate, imminent danger': 'It took 600 years to get the British out of this country, and we don't want them or any others to come in here again.'

We will resist any attack—stubbornly, bloodily, forever. If in these next critical weeks both belligerents make Ireland a cockpit, with grim impartiality we will fight both. An invader will not have an easy time. He must beat not only the small regular army, but an elastic volunteer force. A race of individualists, our fighting is a personal matter. Dublin might be bombed to destruction, but Kilmud and Ballybush are too many; there would be desperate guerillas in every parish. I believe we shall not be invaded—if we show both sides it will be costly to attack.

Hundreds of I. R. A. and a few foreign suspects have been summarily interned. With Fianna Fail, Fine Gael, and Labor behind him, Dev has shown he dares to be strong. This week one man received twelve years for his part in the magazine raid; next week Thomas MacCurtain dies for shooting a detective.

We can handle I. R. A. hotheads, but have no control over England's use of the north. Here is one of England's weaknesses. Nothing could do more to give her cause that justification it now lacks in neutral eyes, than her sincere promise to withdraw all imperial troops and subsidies from Ireland at the end of this war, leaving us to work out our destiny. When that time comes we can settle our differences amicably. I am a Dubliner, but my father came from County Down. Thousands like me, knowing and loving all Ireland, with ties on both sides of the present ridiculous border, will make any concession to minority fears necessary to reunite our people. England would also benefit materially. Up to June some 11,000 men in the North, and numbers from Eire who went to England, had enlisted. Imagine the effect of union on thousands of us in English Dominions

and the United States; while the effect on general American opinion would be tremendous.

England's Prime Minister is an old enemy of ours. But now Ireland's difficulty can become England's opportunity—if Churchill prove big enough to take it. Indications are he may; recent talks aim at reconciling our claims and England's need for more security on this flank, with Craigavon's intransigency. Queer loyalty to England, to keep 100,000 of her troops, needed at home, garrisoning part of our country. United Ireland could guard herself.

## Canada's Colonial Complex

*John Fairfax*

### 2. SPORTS

SHOW ME A PEOPLE'S GAMES, and I will tell you what kind of politics they have." This very free paraphrase of a remark about the songs of a nation has at least as much validity as the original. Certainly the popular sports of Canadians reflect to an astonishing degree that colonialism which expresses itself in a dual sense of inferiority towards Great Britain on the one hand and the United States on the other, and which is indicative of much that is peculiar in Canada's political outlook. As I said in a previous article, it is a matter for speculation whether this is a cause or a result of Canada's equivocal position among the nations. But it is, at all events, an effective bar to any genuine national consciousness.

Most modern sports are, of course, highly derivative. Even baseball did not spring full-fledged from the brains of the American colonists. More nearly, however, is professionalism in field sports the child of the United States. And in this respect, Canada is now hardly distinguishable from her American neighbor.

The amateur spirit persisted in Canada long after it had been almost extinguished by professionalism in the United States, where it still lingers as a sort of dim candle beside the blaze of commercialized baseball and hockey and the semi-professionalized rugby of the universities and high schools. Eastern Canadian cities and towns had their purely local teams, competing in provincial and inter-provincial leagues on a strictly amateur basis, for many years after the box office had claimed most field sports as its own in the United States. Some of them still have. But amateurism is now little more than a faint echo of "the real thing" in Canada too, save perhaps in golf and curling. And golf, even on the amateur plane, has become largely a business and a business-getter rather than a game, affording a new field for the

conspicuous waste and commercial profits so characteristic of our pecuniary economy. Nowhere is our simianism, both individual and national, more plainly evidenced than in golf.

There is no need to discuss here what professionalization has done to sport. It is, of course, the creation of a profit-motive economy, served effectively by a commercialized press. Our professional sport heroes are literally paper celebrities. They are the creatures of the newspaper build-up, and would collapse like cardboard statues if press support were withdrawn. The point is that Canada was not compelled to follow this particular North American trend. Granted a more-or-less common continental environment whose influence in certain directions it would be folly to resist, even a small measure of self-reliance and self-respect would have enabled Canada to retain her amateur standing. But no; the colonial complex made it inevitable that we follow the lead of our Great Neighbor. We wanted to grow up just like our big brother, copying his faults as well as his virtues.

More specifically, this colonial subserviency is seen in what has happened to some things that were indigenous and not without merit. Lacrosse, for instance, was a thoroughly Canadian game. Taken over by the French from the Indians, adopted by the English settlers after the conquest, and developed and codified largely by the late Dr. George Beers of Montreal, it became in the 70's and 80's the distinctive game of eastern Canada, and was eventually carried across the plains. It was a better game, both from the spectator's and the player's point of view — faster and more lively to watch, affording more varied exercise and better physical and mental discipline — than either cricket or baseball. Through the 80's and 90's, every city, town and hamlet had its lacrosse team, each with a strong local following, providing a standard of sportsmanship void of commercialism, which was emulated down through the various layers of the community — college, school and corner lot — on a really broad basis. It was in every way the national game of Canada. It was never taken up to the same extent in the United States; there baseball rapidly developed into the national game. And there, also, baseball gradually became professionalized. Canadians, with characteristic imitativeness, dropped lacrosse and took up baseball. Naturally, anything which came from across the line must be better. Moreover, lacrosse, whose very virtues made it susceptible to a high degree of unsportsmanlike violence as well as to the exercise of self-discipline, also became commercialized, and degenerated into a form of calculated brutality which hastened its decline as

a widely popular sport. Today, the game survives largely as box-lacrosse, a pale and anaemic remnant of the vigorous and exciting sport which was once Canada's national game.

Ice hockey, another indigenous North American sport with many resemblances to lacrosse in speed and movement, has been played as an amateur game from the early days in Canada. But it was not until the United States took up hockey in its latter-day professionalized form that Canadians began to get really enthusiastic about it. Now Canadian hockey teams are feeders for the big league teams across the line, in the diverting process by which sportsmen are bought and sold like African slaves, exhibiting the while that naive inflation of the ego and craving for the spotlight seen in most mentally underdeveloped persons when placed on a pedestal by organized publicity.

But, alas, in the realm of sport also, Canada reveals that duality in her colonial complex which we have noted in another connection. Aside from lacrosse, and perhaps quoits, her earliest games were imported from the British Isles. To one at least of these she has clung for no other apparent reason than because it is British and must therefore be better whether or not it accords with her national genius. Whatever may be said about lacrosse, everything about cricket should have indicated that it was doomed to die a gradual death on North American soil. And, more or less, it has. Whether or not Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton, Vimy Ridge was certainly not won there. But, in the heads of the ageing governors of our endowed boys' schools (which themselves show a simianism towards the English "public" school that passive resistance by the boys themselves is powerless to overcome) there remains the odd conviction that Canadian battles of almost any kind — particularly, of course, those in the business arena — can also be won on the playing fields of Eton. Thus, cricket, a vestigial sport so far as Canada is concerned, is raised to a symbolic niche in these schools, alongside Kipling's *Gunga Din*, and forced down the throats of helpless small boys like a dose of castor oil. In some of these schools, they are not even permitted to play baseball.

No one would argue, of course, that Canada or any other nation should refrain from adopting what seems good and fitting in the practices of other countries. But the instances I have given, I think, illustrate the results of a dual colonial complex which leads Canada, even in sports, to abandon something which was certainly indigenous, and perhaps better, and to cling to something that was obviously unsuited to her native qualities, largely because of a sense of inferiority.

## En Passant

Above the high, pouncing silhouette  
Of the bruised fender of the ancient derelict  
Fallen to drunkenness in stress of age  
Eastward arose the frosted half-moon, shaded  
Like an old head-lamp of bright brass or chromium.

Through the crisp grass of autumn night  
grown long in barrens behind out-sheds and privies  
we pass, beyond range of the sweeping lights,  
away from the crowd departing the village.

A sudden door opens.  
... Together to swift shelter ... fly ...  
corner of two shacks where no draught shivers,  
stepping among chips and ashes, broken glass and  
burnt-out coals and sawdust ...  
Faint weariness of a thing done heretofore ...

Yet I—that had begun the old game coolly  
enough—  
tremble ... breathe hesitantly ... and must speak  
in whispers ...

Warmth of momentary tenderness  
flushes the frosted moon  
and brings the distant autumn night  
closer around—

in these four lips  
and their swift flex and pressure ...  
what is to find  
but anew  
taste of sweet-spelled and sleep-enchanted apples  
gathered in evening orchards dimly sunlit ...

Whim of emotion. We part ...  
The night recedes ... The frost,  
having wavered and lifted, falls back.  
And the half-moon, low-hung is  
like a sardonic plaque in high relief  
moulded with malice in white chromium.

Together, through pointed shadows, slowly,  
Hand in gloved hand, stroll lover-like—  
This much like lovers—

Again to the wide road and the sweeping lights  
And the frayed tail of the late crowd departing.

ALAN G. BROWN

## Correspondence

Earle Birney writes: In my review of "Letters in Canada, 1939," (July, 1940, Forum) I made passing reference to Canadian annual bibliographies. By inadvertence I failed to mention one of the most important: "The Canadian Catalogue of Books published in Canada, about Canada, as well as those written by Canadians." I am grateful to Mr. C. R. Sanderson, chief librarian of the Toronto Public Library, which publishes this catalogue, for drawing my attention to this omission.



## Does It Sell the Stuff?

Philip Spencer

ONE OF THE MOST DREADFUL forms of self-delusion is that held by socialists who tell themselves that capitalism is an inefficient, lumbering Goliath just standing around waiting for Davie's stone. This delusion takes the form of the belief that if only one can give the people the story of socialism, they will automatically kick capitalism in the teeth and embrace the new world order.

This myth springs from a half-digested appraisal of Marx and the mistaken notion that the psychology of "the people" hasn't changed since the 19th century of Marx. But it has, and capitalism today (within its own premises) is intelligent, alert, and amazingly more efficient and thorough than most radical organizations! Not only that, but until socialists teach themselves capitalist methodology they haven't a chance of producing the psychological change in "the people" necessary to bring socialism.

The "drive" of capitalism is administered by advertising. Advertising is the exponent and public relations counsel of the capitalist way of life, and it is also the catalysing agent that creates ready markets for capitalism's products. Advertising *must* deliver the goods, because it is working on a profit and loss basis. Every possible means of influencing the buyer must be conceived, tested and put into use. If it doesn't appreciably increase sales, another means must be found. Obviously, then, it should be extremely helpful for the political propagandists to find out how the advertiser goes about his work . . . what his weapons are . . . *how* he manages to deliver the goods.

Within the compass of this article we shall mainly consider publication advertising. Perhaps in future discussions we can consider other forms.

All advertising is designed to make "appeals" to the consumer—or to friends or relations who will act as carriers of the said appeals. These appeals are elementary—so elementary that intellectuals enjoy smirking at the seeming childishness of advertising—*yet they are fundamental!* They are so fundamental, and so direct, that they are frequently one thousand percent more effective than the appeals turned out by political advertisers.

These appeals are self-interest or survival, snobbery, illness and health, beauty, style, sex, appetite. They are, in fact, the primary appeals of the human race. And, therefore, of every form of political propaganda which has any chance of succeeding!

Yet how often has political propaganda—

especially idealist—failed to play upon those basic strings! How often, for instance, have socialists thought that intellectual apprehension was the most persuasive means of gaining converts! Not so, however, the men who plan advertising campaigns, write copy, design layouts and produce advertisements. To "sell the stuff" they take the most direct routes to convincing the consumer—and they sell the stuff!

What are the most direct routes? To find out what they were for Canadian readers at this time, I analysed the eye-catching appeals in advertisements appearing in a representative group of media. I was not concerned with basic appeals or copy appeals—simply the means by which the advertiser attempted to attract the reader's eye to the ads (as a speaker would tell a story to attract the listener's ear to the serious part of his speech).

Media selected were one issue each of three metropolitan dailies; *Saturday Evening Post* (the most potent American advertising medium for Canadian readers, with a general appeal directed somewhat more at the male reader than the female); *MacLean's* magazine (general for the whole adult family); and *Canadian Home Journal* (women's). These comprise a fair division of types of appeal. Although the sample taken would be too small to satisfy an advertising research department, they are certainly accurate enough for present purposes, and are consistent with many similar tests.

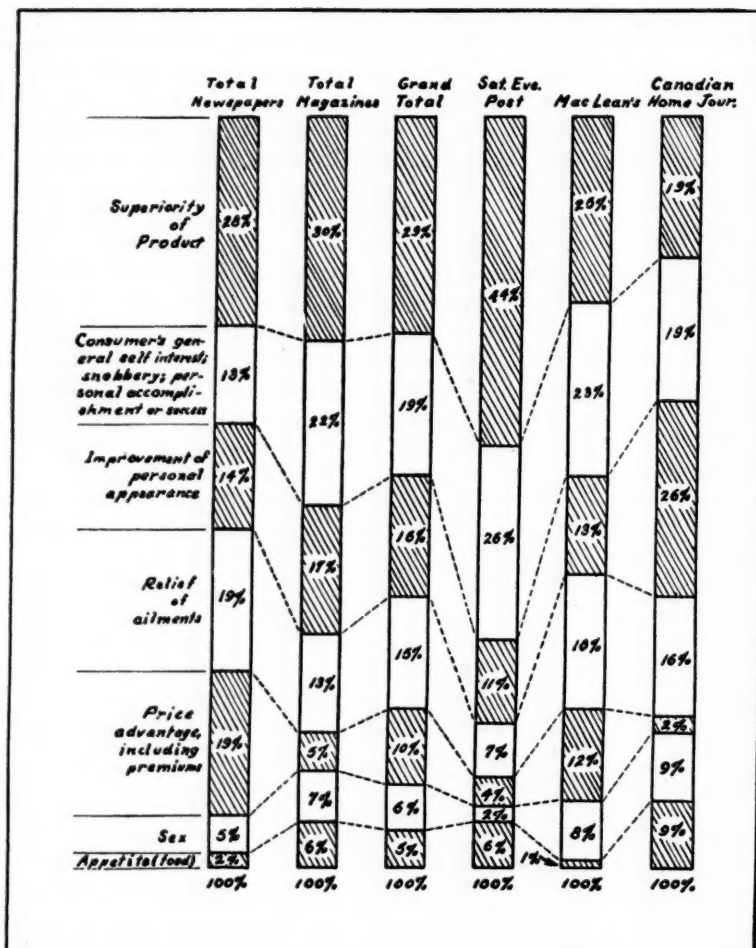
The results are in the accompanying chart, each medium broken up into the proportions of total advertisements using each attention-getting appeal. The dotted lines denote changes between media.

Superiority of product ranks first, with 29% of all the advertising catching the reader's eye by saying in effect: "This is a better product." Product superiority is most used in *Saturday Evening Post*, where a lot of "institutional" self-back-patting is done; least used in *Canadian Home Journal*, where attracting readers (women) by more direct means is considered good advertising.

General self-interest ranks second: "See how superior *you* will be when *you* use this product." This appeal is more used in magazines than in newspapers (in the latter "price" is much more important). It is used more often in general magazines than in women's (where self-interest or snobbery becomes "improvement of personal appearance").

By "sex" is not meant ads that deal with romance, mother love, etc., but simply ads which attract attention by making a sexually attractive object or phrase the primary appeal. It is interesting to note that sex is not a major eye-catcher.

Of what interest is all this to political adver-



"superiority of product," they account for 71% of total ads covered, as against only 29% for "superiority." And in the case of appealing to women this ratio is 81 : 19.

Don't sneer at advertising men. The total advertising expenditure in the United States last year, exclusive of art and mechanical charges, was over \$1,600,000,000. That's a sizable ante for capitalist enterprise to put up. Advertising agencies have to study the consumer, his psychology, buying and living habits, *exactly*.

The point is this. Advertising's market is the politician's and labor leader's market; for even if a family is too poor to buy many branded products it is still under the influence of advertising. Advertising is more influential than adolescent schooling or religion in shaping human habits. And if advertising considers it vital to study human psychology, so should the propagandist. Instead of using the major portion of every speech or article in telling of the superiority of the C.C.F. platform compared with the capitalist parties', shouldn't a C.C.F. propagandist spend an appreciable portion of time showing how such and such a generality affects "you, Mr. and Mrs. Jones"?

tisers, propaganda writers and speakers? It should be of very great interest.

For this reason. "Superiority of product" corresponds to the average socialist claims. "Under socialism unemployment will be solved"; "There will be better distribution of wealth among the great majority of the people"; "We shall have sickness and accident insurance, shorter hours, etc., etc., etc." "Superiority of product" is impersonal, almost 100% impersonal, whether it's a product appeal or a party appeal. All the other appeals listed above are personal! Snobbery, improvement of appearance, getting rid of *my* ailments ("my," not "the people's"), economy, sex and appetite—they all tell Mr. and Mrs. Jones exactly what Mr. and Mrs. Jones are going to get for *themselves* if they buy themselves a hunk of product. And socialist propaganda should do the same thing: sell Mr. and Mrs. Jones a hunk of socialism because it's cheaper, will improve their appearance, will give them a sense of personal accomplishment, and because it tastes good.

For note. If you lump all appeals other than

For instance, instead of talking about "a higher standard of living" (product superiority and a very hackneyed phrase) let's make it motor-cars and a new coat of house paint and new fishing tackle and longer holidays for Mr. Jones; for Mrs. Jones a decent home and milk for the children and a new dress and a trip to New York. Let's translate the closed shop into permanent waves and a ten-cent cigar after supper. That's the way advertisers do it. Let's make health insurance and socialization of medicine mean something by talking about Uncle Henry's losing his leg at the factory and Bobby's whooping cough and Cousin Ethel's dreadful backache. Advertisers do it—they talk straight at Uncle Henry and Bobby's mother and Cousin Ethel. Let's make the economy of socialism mean something by telling housewives they can get coffee at half price, and men that they can buy a razor blade that will last their whole life. Let's take sex out of the movies and drip magazines and show healthy folks how they can enjoy their instincts by voting the socialist ticket. The advertisers do it. They change the social mores of

the nation; create customs that affect everyone's daily life.

Advertising can innovate customs of a negative sort as well. The most obvious example is the fact that in only a few years whole nations have taken to smelling their armpits and underwear suspiciously—they're "B.O." conscious. We decry this. We laugh at it. Yet this advertising-created incubus drives millions of people along the folkway that leads to the soap counter and the deodorant counter. You just can't laugh off the tremendous psychological influence of this minor god of the heresy Advertising.

When folks are as conscious of "the capitalist system" (to use the drab phrase of 90% of socialist propagandists) as they are of body odor, then socialism may be at hand. When the goodies of socialism are as apparent as the benefits of orange juice, then socialism will be at hand!

Here's another example of how advertisers know where they're going. When an advertiser wants to gauge how a new product will sell, how an old product will sell in a new market, how a product will sell with a new appeal, or hundreds of other "hows"—he finds out first, by means of consumer research, *before* he has wasted money and effort. He formulates questionnaires, which are answered by a scientifically selected "sample" of consumers under the direction of trained investigators. This careful selection means that as few as 200 interviews can give the answer for a million or more actual consumers. And those 200 interviews will be within 5% of accuracy.

Now see how useful this one branch of research alone would be to socialists. For instance, last autumn a poll could have been taken of Canadian public opinion on the war issue. A sample of 2,000 interviews would have represented the views of our eleven-million-odd population within 5%. Using trained investigators, the field-work for such a poll would have cost only eighty dollars or less! Eighty dollars would have disclosed the advisability of various platform planks that could conceivably have altered the future of Canadian radical politics for the next ten years. And if voluntary investigators were trained for jobs like this, such polls would cost no more than the mimeographing and mailing of questionnaire forms.

Plain and fancy research is part of the everyday routine of the advertisers. Surely, when socialism claims it can produce results infinitely more beneficial to the public than individualist economy—surely socialism should use this means of tapping the mind of Mr. and Mrs. Jones too. What a difference it might make to policy-framing.

The technique of dramatizing abstractions is an

art and science combined. It is employed beautifully by fascist propagandists, and no less beautifully (if we only realized it) by governments in Great Britain and France. Sad to say, socialists in Canada know very little about it. They don't realize that the average man can absorb very little by means of pure intellectual conviction. But the average man is infinitely absorptive of impressions, pictures, emotions—pain, hunger, anger, sorrow, hope, kindness, sex, gastric satisfaction, warmth, color, conviviality. And these impressions produce conviction, lasting conviction because it is based on the stuff of life instead of WORDS.

How can we advertise socialism so that it reaches the *nature* of men? How should a good speech be written? How do we make up socialist humor? How pathos? How do we illustrate every single generality we give by an actual example? How to write publicity and copy for socialism? What rules does every newspaperman know about writing news stories? Why are pictures vital? How does an advertising copywriter glamorize his product, depict its uses, create the urge to acquire? How many ways are there of saying "Do it now?" What about the socialist theater? Socialist music? How can experience in commercial radio increase and canalize the impact of dramatic socialist propaganda?

These are only a few of the items that should be contained in the handbook of propaganda workers, because they show how to appeal to the individual Mr. and Mrs. Jones, instead of harping on "superiority of product" as does so much present-day propaganda. Really find the ear and the eye of Mr. Jones and his wife—and you'll be able to reach their heart and their head!





# BOOKS OF THE MONTH

## Historical Perspective

**CIVILIZATION AND LIBERTY:** Ramsay Muir; Nelson (Cape); pp. 283; 85c.

**T**HE PURPOSE of this book is to put the present struggle in its historical perspective—it is, in fact, a short history of the growth of civilization and liberty (to the author ultimately the same) throughout the ages. It is admirably done and, though it is too good to be called propaganda, the book should do the British cause as much good as Lord Lloyd's narrow and short-sighted "The British Case" is continuing to do it harm. Inevitably, where the subject is the gradual emergence of the good, the darker pages of human history and the appalling shortcomings of our own democratic systems are somewhat lightly touched upon. Yet no one will accuse Mr. Muir of a lack of perspective; indeed, though our own shortcomings must be kept in mind, we can but be grateful to him when, at a time like the present, he helps us to see the evils of our civilization against a background where hope for a better world still lives.

A brief glance at primitive societies strikes the keynote:

"The reason why progress was so slow as to be almost imperceptible during the greater part of man's long history was that primitive society exercised what may be called a 'totalitarian' control over the minds and bodies of its members. Every return towards this sort of 'totalitarian' control is a relapse towards the primitive and the barbaric."

"In the early stages, however, the development of these new ways of life (i.e. the beginnings of civilization) gave rise to — or were, at any rate, accompanied by — four things which we have come to regard as incompatible with any high form of civilization, but which were perhaps essential to its early development. These four things were despotism, priestcraft, war and slavery, the four greatest enemies of liberty, which had to be overcome ere liberty could thrive."

Western civilization has grown from three "seminal ideas"—

"To the Greeks we owe the ideal of a free society, and the establishment of intellectual liberty; to the Romans the principle of the reign of law, and the creation of a sense of the unity of western civilization; to the Jews the foundation of a religion which became the common faith and inspiration of the west, and which proclaimed the equal value of all men in the sight of God."

Each of the three is briefly considered in its original setting; then comes, in the middle ages, the gradual disappearance of slavery in Europe with the essential unity of that civilization preserved by the church, and the emergence of the three Estates, as well as the birth of nationalities.

The author breaks off here to glance at the three non-European civilizations of that time: the Chinese, with its strong family loyalty and ancient moral code, yet holding less promise because careless of human life; the Indian, "frozen into permanent disunity" by the caste system; the Islamic, so brilliant, victorious for a time with its con-

quering religious fervor, yet decaying through the rigidity of its creed. We then return to the history of our own civilization since 1450, and to this three quarters of the book are devoted.

There is nothing new to the historian here, nor is there meant to be, but those of us whose history is somewhat confused and half-forgotten will find it of extreme interest, at this time, to follow the gradual and painful emergence of an increasing amount of liberty, with Britain, Holland, France and United States as its imperfect but doughty champions. The spread of modern ideas both good and evil, the various changes and movements of modern history, political, religious and economic (with perhaps less than enough emphasis on the economic) are described with illuminating clarity. The despotisms shine in their magnificence and rot, while again and again the human instinct for freedom reasserts itself and gains ground in the end, at least west of the Rhine and north of the Alps. We should note that if it fails in Germany it is not for want of trying. When dealing with the contemporary scene, the author is neither vindictive nor complacent, and few of us will fail to echo his final prayer—both parts of it:

"May God grant, not only that the right may win, but that in striving for its victory and in using its results we may be saved from the very evils against which we are struggling—from selfishness and ambition, from cruelty, from injustice even to those who have been led astray and whose minds have been poisoned. May the outcome of this struggle be the cleansing of civilization and its final penetration by the spirit of liberty."

G. M. A. GRUBE

## Program for Americans

**THE WICKED BOOK OF BROTHER BARNABAS:**

Richard R. Smith, New York; pp. 413; \$2.75 (U.S.).

**I** PITY MYSELF, as reviewer of this book, more even than Brer Barnabas pities America; all the more because I love him with all the love he bears it. I approach the task with the full and real humility of his own appeal to his fellow-citizens, and hope I shall do him no injustice.

The book is both mis-named and un-named. One might suppose that the word 'wicked' in the title was a 'leader' for the prurient; but the book itself lends no support to any such suggestion. There are, indeed, occasional excursions into the language of excretion and copulation. These will offend only the diminishing minority who implicitly condemn the Almighty for endowing us with these functions or for cursing us with such obstacles to what, without them, would be a pale paradise of prudes. There is nothing wicked in the book unless it is the author's intermittent but relentless assault upon Big Business.

Nor does the word 'book' itself tell us anything . . . Anyway, Brother Barnabas is a prominent American author—those more familiar with American literature will have a good time guessing who he is—whose urgent aim it is to make Americans love America. In despair of any self-generated nostrum he migrates to a Middle-West poor-house and its nature's philosopher-superintendent,

Dr. Angelicus. There, fortified by contact with ordinary people, he works out a program for making Americans love America. The sequel is perhaps—I may be wrong—mechanically defective: at least it is well-presented.

But the sequel is in any case unimportant. It is the method of the enterprise, and the philosophy which informs it, that carry the reader so easily, and so interested, through the book. Not to mention the vivid style, the lurking humor, and—though it will offend some—the fairy-tale atmosphere in which so much of the message is delivered. This, indeed, and the continual alternation of story-telling with criticism, is apt to exasperate the intellectual; but may well commend the work to the citizen. At the very least they make it good reading—and profitable, by any but a dollar-rating.

The philosophy is that of a liberal emancipated from the conventional applications of liberalism, but unaware of its major implication. There is a naivete almost incredible in the idea that an upper limit upon income can produce economic democracy or a crescendo of armaments a solution to international disorder. Yet the author has some true insights, and many of his suggestions will bring illumination to others. More, he sows the blessed seed of imagination and fancy in a field weed-clogged by slogans and statistics. He makes of politics and economics what they should be: a routine but lively interest of the average citizen.

The high point of the book is perhaps the varied emphasis upon the theme that present democracy limits every right but that of property, and that to realize itself it must limit that too. A platitude, no doubt; but a platitude become transfigured and dynamic. The low point is that Jeremy Jenkins is an automaton rather than a person. But it will do you all kinds of good to meet this Jeremy.

R. E. K. PEMBERTON.

## Preview of Disaster

THE THREE WEEKS WAR IN POLAND: Clare Hollingsworth; Nelson (Duckworth); pp. 180; \$2.00.

AS CORRESPONDENT for the Daily Telegraph, Miss Hollingsworth was the only British correspondent in Poland throughout the campaign. This little book is the account of her experiences as she followed British and other diplomats in their hasty flight eastward and then south into Roumania. It is an excellent piece of reporting, with vivid eye-witnessed scenes and some very interesting information by the way. The Polish war is an old story now, but it will still repay study, for it is amazing that with this successful Nazi invasion to ponder over during the winter months, nearly all of us completely failed to appreciate its significance.

The hopeless flight of refugees, fleeing in confusion, bombarded and machine-gunned from the air; the bombing of open cities, often far away from military objectives; the amazing success of mechanized pincer tactics breaking up rather than defeating the defending forces—all this has become a familiar pattern. The author claims, incidentally, that "the B.B.C. had suppressed most of the accounts of these deliberate killings of civilians."

Miss Hollingsworth's sympathy for the Poles does not cloud her judgment. Her sympathy indeed is for the Polish people, she has not much to say for the Polish government, whom she roundly accuses of inefficiency, blind over-confidence and lack of foresight. "In the development of Polish industry, the pursuit of profit by the owners was allowed to prevail over the military

requirements of the country; it also operated to damage the economic welfare of the people." That, too, is a familiar story. Meanwhile, the British government did not grant a loan to Poland until some months after the Anglo-Polish pact, and "up to June, 1939, the British government was actually buying anti-aircraft guns, which Poland's need for foreign exchange forced her to sell; thus, so far from supplying Poland's needs, we were actually stripping her of defensive weapons which she urgently required."

Miss Hollingsworth insists that when Russia invaded Poland the Polish government was still in being and still on Polish soil. "In addition, its armies had just had their first successes of the war." "The departure of the government and the collapse of Polish resistance could not furnish an excuse for this Russian invasion, they were the consequence of that invasion." Previous suggestions that the Red army held eastern Poland against the Germans had been refused by Colonel Beck.

There is a brief review of the course of the campaign as a whole and a period of refugee work in Roumania. Definitely a book to read.

G. M. A. GRUBE

## Fight for America's Mind

WAR PROPAGANDA AND THE UNITED STATES: Harold Lavine and James Wechsler: Yale University Press; pp. 363.

AFTER WORLD WAR I, students and directors of the war-time propagandas joined in laying bare the springs which had impelled whole nations to action. The shock of discovery caused many people to become suspicious, rather than intelligently critical, of all they heard or read. But it should have been clear that democracy cannot exist without propaganda. Indeed, "freedom for competing propagandas" is perhaps as good a definition of democracy as any other. The real need is for a more generally developed ability to weigh and appraise opposing statements and views, to detect motives and reject the specious.

Out of this need grew the Institute for Propaganda Analysis in the United States. Its guide-rules for detecting propaganda intent and its periodic studies of particular propagandas have been invaluable to the layman. "War Propaganda and the United States," the latest book-length study to be sponsored by the Institute, describes and analyzes the struggle for the mind of the United States in the present war up to the beginning of the blitzkrieg last May.

The study shows the inevitable divergence in tactics on both sides from those followed in World War I, partly due to the fact that Germany entered this war with United States opinion overwhelmingly in favor of the Allies. It does not overlook the fact that events sometimes do what propaganda cannot, and that propaganda is always conditioned by the course of the war itself, instancing the changes wrought in United States opinion (both "isolationist" and "interventionist") by the realization that victory for the Allies might not be the absolute certainty it had formerly been assumed to be. Mistakes made during the first nine months of the war, both in British and in German propaganda, are discussed. Much effort was wasted, for instance, by British propagandists in proving Hitler's "war guilt," when Americans were already satisfied of this. What they needed to be convinced about was the genuineness of the British government's opposition to "Hitlerism" and its final renunciation of "appeasement."



However, the replacement of Chamberlain by Churchill and the labor ministers, and his subsequent actions, did much to accomplish what propaganda alone might never have done, especially in view of the unfortunate remarks of Lord Lloyd, Alfred Duff Cooper and others. When British propagandists, led by Lord Lothian, substituted the positive "war for democracy" for the negative "anti-Hitlerism" theme of the earlier months, thus adding the needed note of idealism to the argument of self-interest, German propagandists were quick to remind Americans of the abandonment of Czecho-Slovakia, the guarantee to non-democratic Poland, and the refusal to grant India her independence, by a nation claiming to fight for "democracy." But, as the authors point out, the best propagandists for Britain have been the "interventionist" Americans themselves, up to and including the president, and the best propagandists for Germany, not the Nazis and Communists, but the American "isolationists." All media of propaganda—press, radio, cinema, books, speakers, and the events themselves—are discussed in detail.

The author's careful examination of the news "coverage" of the Russo-Finnish war is a striking exposé of what censorship and propaganda can do to create a misleading picture of actual warfare, and of how the press and radio, even in a "neutral" country, may be victimized and may in turn victimize an unwary public. Perhaps the chief moral to be drawn from the book is that, since it is in the final analysis emotion that gives force to our actions, it is essential that reason be used in determining and assessing the data upon which that emotion will be based.

Canadian subscribers to the Institute's reports were kept waiting two weeks for this book (given as a bonus with their subscriptions) while the censors decided whether it was fit for the tender minds of a people at war. As it turned out, there is much that can be learned from it, both by British propagandists, and by Canadians in their much-vaunted role as "interpreters" of Britain to the United States. The latter will do well, for instance, to avoid such mistakes as that of the Hon. Gordon Conant (referred to twice by the authors) in his public statement calling upon the dominion to make every possible effort to involve the United States in the war and asserting that no concession, except Canada's independence, was too great to make. This, declare the authors (who should know) was "coming through for Dr. Goebbels again."

CARLTON McNAUGHT

## Violent City

THE UNQUIET FIELD: Beatrice Kean Seymour; Macmillan; pp. 506; \$2.75

**M**RS. SEYMOUR'S HISTORICAL NOVEL embracing four generations of an English slave-trading family (the years 1720 to 1841) is a courageous and inspiring book that unfolds the thrilling fight for freedom on one of its bitterest fronts, the abolition of the slave trade. The eighteenth century was an era of reform, and fruitful literary genius, producing such women as Hannah More, Mrs. Burney, Mary Wollstonecraft, and other enlightened advocates of women's rights. Men such as Burke and Adam Smith were agitating the age with their great ideas. Wilberforce and Clarkson eloquently strove to awaken the conscience of the world to the full realization

of the horrors of the slave trade and so free men from the brutality, privilege, and ignorance of the past.

The Sherrard family were among the first to sense the huge profits to be made and it is they who help centre the trade in the city of Liverpool. That violent city forms the backdrop against which Mrs. Seymour's fascinating drama is played. It was in those days a city built of the fruits of looting, piracy, conquest, and plunder; a city where mobs, who a generation before had burnt women as witches, now tortured women who displeased their husbands. It was a city where dances were given to celebrate the opening of the new Slave Exchange, and where devices for branding slaves were displayed in shop windows.

There were, among the members of the Sherrard family, those who saw and proclaimed future trends, who abhorred the slave trade and the wars which were fought to maintain it. There is bitterness between Ben Sherrard and his imaginative, over-sensitive cousin, Bartley, who actively supports the reforming zeal of Clarkson and Wilberforce. Bartley's son, Richard, espouses the cause of the American Revolution. His grandson, Roger, finally makes a clean break with the family firm whose profiteering Tory die-hards insist on preserving their hold on a trade that had become discredited by public opinion, and forbidden by parliament. Here Mrs. Seymour shows clearly the strange reluctance of men to discard outworn modes of thought and to receive fresh impulses. Yet her novel is a heartening story that will make a genuine appeal to readers concerned with the evaluation of social change, for it reminds us that the world has fallen on evil times before. One has difficulty in sorting out and remembering the various branches of the Sherrard family, but most of the characters are convincingly drawn, particularly Lavinia, daughter of the firm's founder. Strong-minded and fearless, Lavinia, with her scathing wit and astute reasoning mind, loved freedom, because to her freedom was life and meant the power to feel and to think for herself. Self-development and self-fulfillment were important to her in an age when women were subjected to ego-frustration.

Mrs. Seymour's book is enlivened with facts which have a special meaning for us. The Abolitionist cause was helped by those who had once profited by the slave trade, and who became incensed and disgusted by its horrors. Many seamen laid their grievances before Mr. Clarkson in protest against the conditions on board the slave ships and the dreadful toll it took of their number. The confusion in the Abolitionist camps, because support of the French Revolution endangered the cause, made Roger wonder at the end of the eighteenth century if there was any such thing as progress in the world, and caused him to exclaim, "Idealism to-day . . . is suspect all around, all the horrors of the world are being laid at its door."

In more words put into the mouth of Roger, guardian of liberty in another era of disgrace, Mrs. Seymour gives inspiration to all who believe finally in "man's Unconquerable mind": "This is what the most forcefully struck me in all my concern with the business of slavery—that everywhere it is to somebody's interest to enslave somebody else. Is it true . . . that liberty is an abstraction, a chimera, something men dream of and die for but can never know? Or is it only that the battle of freedom is never done—that in some corner of the field of liberty there is always fighting. Eternal vigilance!"

MARGUERITE WYKE

THE CANADIAN FORUM



UNTIMELY ULYSSES: Vincent Brun; Cape-Nelson; pp. 287; \$2.50.

**D**ON'T READ the dust cover blurb on this book if you wish to enjoy it. For some unaccountable reason the people who prepare these eulogies seldom seem to have read the book. Anyway "Untimely Ulysses" is described as 'gorgeously unexpected entertainment.' It is a quiet, oblique and frightening satire on the Austrians shortly after Hitler liberated them from Schussnigg. It is certainly not gorgeous, nor is it entertaining in the light-hearted sense used by the publishers.

Anton, a young and inconspicuous refugee in London, manages to return to Vienna to see his dying father, who has bequeathed to him and his brother a valuable Swiss insurance policy. The plot, of course, lies in the difficulties of getting hold of the policy, keeping it from the avaricious relatives and Nazis and smuggling it and himself out of the country. In the account of the people involved in this there is probably the most penetrating, if narrowly focussed, description of life in German-dominated territory yet to appear in fiction. The Nazis are not the rapist-terrorists or expert automatons of propaganda literature. True, they have the mixture of brutality, stupidity and cunning which is requisite in those who would adopt such a philosophy, but off duty they share the common human compulsion to make friends rather than enemies where possible. It is, however, of the Austrians that Brun writes most bitingly and candidly. Despite their tragic suppression they continue their incoherent, aimless, inefficient intriguing. Desperately, yet unwilling to make sacrifices, they seek a *modus operandi* with their conquerors. A handful of courageous characters stand apart from their lazy, undisciplined countrymen. Nevertheless, on closing the book, the impressions remain of a soft, selfish people who must suffer a great deal more to regain their spiritual strength. The last three chapters are a neat satire on Whitehall and Fleet Street, which once might have shocked us but unhappily can no longer do so.

ELEANOR GODFREY

## New Verse

DISCOVERY: Arthur S. Bourinot; Ryerson; pp. 11; 60c.

THE PIONEERS: H. Glynn-Ward; Ryerson; pp. 12; 60c.

TWENTY-TWO IMPROVISATIONS: Harold S. Silverman; published by author; pp. 22.

POETRY CARAVAN (Special Pilgrimage Issue); Lakeland, Fla.; pp. 26; 25c (U.S.).

THE KAPUSTKAN, August; 5013 So. Throop St., Chicago; pp. 28; 25c (U. S.).

**T**HE TWO LATEST in the Ryerson series of poetry chapbooks possess in common the virtues of simplicity in diction, grace in rhythm, and imaginative response to the early history of Canada. Mr. Bourinot, the more experienced poet (this is his ninth volume) presents five poems of the old and new worlds, their contrasting but interlocking histories. The most striking is "The Indian," where the author's characteristic short line and delicate cadence are used for fine emotional effects.

H. Glynn-Ward is a Welsh-Canadian woman, resident in British Columbia. "The Pioneers" is a baker's dozen of ballads recalling romantic aspects of British Columbia's past. The phrasing occasionally seems in debt to Robert

W. Service, but the subjects are fresh, the metre fluent, and there is fine music made of western place-names. "Along the Road to Hazelton" should find a place in Canadian anthologies.

In striking contrast to these two chapbooks is Mr. Silverman's first volume. Here the technique is unsparingly and bewilderingly impressionistic, the form a belated imitation of e. e. cummings, and the material at once urban and intensely personal. The reader who keeps his patience with the stylistic inanities and the too-calculated "shockers" of phrase, will find some of the most original and striking images to be met with in Canadian writing today. The man who can speak of "the pronged rain" and "the taut sierras of the mind," and for whom "the crippled wave limps in the dock" is a poet, who needs only to shake himself free from the fads of typographical ingenuity and elliptical obscurity to make himself known in Canadian literature.

"Poetry Caravan" has issued a special number devoted to poems in praise of American poets of the past. The most noteworthy is by Clement Wood, who is equally concerned with denouncing the lack of poetry in the present-day world of war and fascism.

"The Kapustkan" is a new mimeographed periodical declaredly published in the interests of "Dynamic Democracy." Its name is a gift from the editors, Bruce and Stan Kapustka. The August issue is one of these big-name numbers — Bernard Shaw on the cover, and LaGuardia, and Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr. Their contributions turn out to be rather cold replies to letters from the editors, most of them democratic enough but not exactly dynamic.

EARLE BIRNEY

NEW POETS FROM OLD: Henry W. Wells; Columbia University Press; pp. 329; \$3.50.

**T**HIS BOOK IS A STUDY of the influence of older poets on contemporaries, with special attention, of course, to deliberate borrowings, avowed indebtedness, and conscious or unconscious echoes. It is full of genuine and fascinating erudition, and for the first time (so far as I know) we find gathered into one volume examples of the influence of Anglo-Saxon poetry on Hopkins and McLeish, of Langland on Day Lewis, of Skelton on Auden, of the murkier Elizabethans on Cummings, of Herrick on Davies, of Donne on Yeats and Elinor Wylie, of Pope on the Sitwells, and many others.

The Americans are far better handled than the Europeans. Mr. Wells has very interesting things to say about Robinson, Cummings, Wallace Stevens, Conrad Aiken and Vachel Lindsay: his notes on the last two expand from his subject into excellent critical essays. I have never seen anything better on Lindsay. In fact, I wish the book had been a series of essays on Mr. Wells' favorite poets.

The treatment of Yeats is perfunctory and that of Eliot impatient; the book is not too shapely and at times thrashes around in its huge subject; there are barren stretches of historical commonplace in the section on form, and much vague criticism of the no-they-go-there type:

The golden age died with Shakespeare; the Augustan age is now seen to have commenced considerably earlier than was once assumed. Donne stood in every way closer to the generation of the great Elizabethans, to which he belonged by birth, than to that of the Cavaliers; while most of the Cavaliers stand nearer to the Augustans of the Restoration period than to the Elizabethans.

But for all its faults it will be very useful to anyone interested in the subject, and for students beginning the moderns I should think it would be essential.

One important point implied by the book could have been made clearer. The revaluation of the metaphysicals and the Elizabethan tragedians is done; there is no point in gloating over it any more. There poets and scholars worked together. Now poets are forging ahead of the critics: they find something peculiarly modern and useful in the work of older poets of the darker and more awkward ages. Critics, on the other hand, are still wandering in a pseudo-Darwinian haze of periods of transition and florescence. The hieratic and Byzantine poems of the Anglo-Saxons are really part of the protozoic slime from which Shakespeare and Milton emerged. The genius of English literature got so exhausted fighting the Wars of the Roses that it had to spend a century clearing its throat in order to voice the poetry of Spenser, Shakespeare and Donne. Any eighteenth-century poet who made a sniffy remark about Pope "prepared the way" for Wordsworth. And so on. If poets today are finding more to use (without raising the question of "greatness") in Skelton than in Spenser, in "Beowulf" than in "Paradise Lost," in Churchill than in Dryden, modern criticism will just have to catch up.

H. N. FRYE

POSTLUDE TO AN ERA: Verna Loveday Harden; Crucible Press.

GREEN FLAME: Joan Buckley; Crucible Press.

**B**OTH THESE VOLUMES are apparently the first to be published by their respective authoresses. Verna Harden has contributed to numerous Canadian periodicals, and the present selection is drawn largely from these. Many of the poems are the product of the last year or two before the present war, and the general feeling of impending catastrophe and immediate disillusionment provides her with much of her subject matter. In several of the poems Nature is the foil, through which she expresses her reaction to man's stupidity. Verna Harden has a genuine gift of language, and several of the poems are outstanding in construction and imagery.

The poems in "Green Flame" are more slender and personal in theme. The international situation gets left out in the cold, but after reading a few of the poems one doesn't mind very much. Joan Buckley succeeds in translating beauty and simplicity into verse without making it boring, which takes some doing these days.

D. S.

LAVA: Irene H. Moody; Macmillan; pp. 96; \$2.

**M**RS. MOODY IS a practised imagist, specializing in the short vers libre impression and the evocative descriptive phrase. In the longer poems this last sometimes alternates with more prosaic rhythms and produces an uneven texture. As in so many imagist poems, particularly Canadian ones, the vocabulary is in more than one sense too precious. There is enough amber and crystal and ivory to stock a museum, enough gold and precious stones to build a Byzantine palace. I suppose poetry written by women is apt to absorb some of the sense of elaborate decorative design that would otherwise have gone into lace or needlepoint (this is not a sneer) but it's far too facile to call waves "lucent walls of jade", and however valuable amethysts or sapphires may be in

economics, their lovely names make only a specious glitter in poetry.

The poems which are didactic and directly concerned with 1940 are almost entirely unsuccessful, and some of the most sincerely felt can only be called doggerel. Propaganda today is a military weapon dropping bombs on culture: these bombs are bound to do a great deal of damage, and at least one of poetry's guns, indignant and passionate denunciation, has been completely spiked. That is no doubt the chief reason for the failure of such poems as "Is It True?" and "The Veterans Offer." Her chief religious idea seems to be the Shavian creative-evolution one of God as the glacier and us as the terminal moraine, which, though dead as a religion, survives as a haunting and hideous myth.

There remains a small but attractive group of epigrams, mainly concerned with the revealing of personal emotion. Here the poet not only feels but expresses herself sincerely, and I think enough of them ring the bell to make the book worth recommending.

H. N. FRYE

## Miscellany

THE BOY'S BOOK OF CANADA: Denis Crane; Wells-Gardner-Musson; pp. 301; \$1.50.

**S**O ADMIRING AND ENTHUSIASTIC is this presentation of our dominion, aimed at enlightening young Britons, that a Canadian has a rather odd feeling of reading about a foreign country, despite the familiarity of the names and the lack of any serious factual errors. The tone of the treatment is best demonstrated by a quotation from the author's note: "... apologies are perhaps due to Canadian readers for a book which, despite the author's best endeavor, must fall far short of what they in their pride of race and country will doubtless protest it should have been." The Canadian really feels he should apologize to the author for allowing him to depart with such a romantic view of us. However, Mr. Crane, even if he has avoided anything sombre, has collected a great deal of information which he imparts with slightly sugary zest. And I don't suppose it will hurt English boys to believe for a while longer that the degeneration of the Indians resulted from the white man's superior use of tools or that the English-speaking and the French Canadians still share the amity of Wolfe and Montcalm.

ELEANOR GODFREY

**T**HE PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE (30 Rockefeller Plaza, N. Y. C.) continues its excellent series of illustrated pamphlets with *AMERICA'S CHILDREN* by Maxwell S. Stewart. The pamphlet is very largely based on the findings and recommendations of the White House conference on children in a democracy, which was held in January, 1940. The general problem of education, physical and mental, is but a part of the general problem of the underprivileged, at least on its more urgent side, and it is treated here as such—particularly as the large majority of American or any other children live in very poor homes. Difficult as it is to separate the question of children, much can however be done to lighten the burden of the younger generation. We are here shown what has already been done in the United States, and the plans which the conference drew up for the next ten years. In this, as in so many things, Canada still has much to learn from her great neighbour.

THE CANADIAN FORUM

**Essays in Monetary Theory:** D. H. Robertson; King & Son; pp. 234; 11/6.

A collection of essays can be useful in showing the development of the author's thought; as the embodiment of a doctrine; or as an aid to other study. Professor Robertson's essays fall in the last of these categories as a critical aid to the study of other works on monetary matters. About one third of the book may be of interest to the general reader, and perhaps one third may be of use only to fairly advanced students.

Professor Robertson is of the opinion that the influence of the rate of interest on the trade cycle has been over-emphasized and he is very critical of "The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money," although careful to acknowledge the debt of himself and other economists to Mr. Keynes.

"It seems to me more reasonable to regard the gilt-edged yield as being the rate of interest *par excellence*, the satisfaction of obtaining which is balanced at the margin against the satisfaction enjoyed from consumption . . ." Long argument, intricate mathematics and flowing curves based on this idea of the rate of interest cannot but appear to some people as most misleading and to others as a waste of time. Nowhere in this book is there any qualification of this idea of the rate of interest or any suggestion as to the changes that would be required to bring the argument into relation with economic life. C. A. A.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

**War Propaganda and the United States:** Harold Lavine and James Wechsler; Yale University Press (Special edition for the Institute for Propaganda Analysis); pp. 363.

**New Poets from Old:** Henry W. Wells; Columbia University Press; pp. 356; \$3.50.

**The Fat Years and the Lean:** Bruce Minton and John Stuart; George J. McLeod; pp. 454; \$4.75.

**Porlock:** Reginald Hunter; Copp Clarke (Caxton); pp. 152; \$2.50.

**With Custer's Cavalry:** Katherine Gibson Fougere; Copp Clarke (Caxton); pp. 285; \$3.50.

**Discovery:** Arthur S. Bourinot; Ryerson; pp. 11; 60c.

**The Pioneers and Other Poems:** H. Glynn-Ward; Ryerson; pp. 12; 60c.

**The Awakening:** Melvin L. Severy; Foster Hope Co.; pp. 472; \$2.50 (U.S.).

**The Longest Rope:** D. F. Baber; Copp Clarke (Caxton); pp. 320; \$4.00.

**Saltykov and the Russian Squire:** Nikander Strelesky; Columbia University Press; pp. 176; \$2.50 (U.S.).

**The Forgotten Gospel:** Cephas Guillet; Clermont Press; pp. 395; \$2.50 (U.S.).

**Lawrence of Arabia, Zionism and Palestine:** Sir Ronald Storrs; Collins (Penguin); pp. 128; 20c.

**Warships at Work:** A. C. Hardy; Collins (Penguin); pp. 144; 20c.

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